

Number 19

"Teaching and Writing Local and Reservation History:
The Navajos"
June 1995

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INDIAN VOICES IN THE ACADEMY: A program of seminars, fellowships, and publications for tribal college faculty and others who teach American Indian history and culture at colleges and universities. The following syllabus describes the "Teaching and Writing Local History" seminar held at Navajo Community College. Other host institutions in the program included Lac Courte Oreilles Community College in May, 1993 and Little Big Horn College in June, 1994.

**Teaching and Writing Local and Reservation History:
the Navajos**

June 12-17, 1995
Navajo Community College
Tsaile, AZ

Monday, June 12--Opening Dinner/Introductions

12:30 pm Van leaves Albuquerque for NCC campus.

6:00 pm Dinner in the NCC Cafeteria Banquet Room.

7:00 pm Introduction of Staff members, seminar leaders, participants and invited guests. Presentation of objectives for the week by Peter Iverson, Acting Director. These include:

1. Presentation of an overview of Navajo history and the history of the Navajo reservation.
2. Review of methods issued to present Navajo history at Navajo Community College.
3. Introduction of different approaches to the study of reservation history, including the history of families, economy history, and political history.
4. Introduction of the use of libraries, historic sites, museums, and artifacts for the study of local history.
5. Introduction of the use of tribal elders and other oral sources for the study of reservation history.
6. Discussion of applicability of the methods and topics described above to tribal college and Indian studies curricula. In particular, the seminar will examine the relationship between the Navajo Community College's Diné Philosophy of learning program and the study of reservation history.
7. Presentation and discussion of possible research projects in local and reservation history producing either scholarly publications or new courses.

8:00 pm Tour of NCC campus by Harry Walters, Museum Director and Chair of the Center for Diné Studies.

Tuesday, June, 13--Diné Philosophy and Curriculum

- 7:30 am Breakfast at NCC Cafeteria.
- 8:00 am Diné Philosophy of learning--Johnson Dennison, Director of Diné Education Philosophy (DEP). The title of this presentation is "Learning is a Personal Motivation." The Navajo philosophy of learning is based on an individual's commitment to learning. Learning is everyday living and preparation for the future of life. It is called, "T'aa Ho Hjii 'eego", a personal motivation, and the goal is to develop a personal foundation so an individual will have balance and harmony while learning.
- 10:10 am Break.
- 10:30 am Implementing the DEP Paradigm--Frank Morgan, Diné Educational philosophy Education Specialist. The Office of Diné Educational Philosophy (DEP) was given the responsibility to carry out training, instruction and alignment with the nature of the college's education philosophy. Incremental implementation efforts are being effected in the academy areas, administrative services, and student life. This presentation will examine the paradigm and provide examples of incorporation in a college course content area and interpersonal working relations.
- 11:30 am Discussion.
- 12:00 am Navajo Taco lunch at NCC Hogan.
- 1:30 pm Diné Philosophy Curriculum--David Begay, Assistant to President, and Nancy Maryboy, Director of Title V Program. The college's mission statement declares that the "state of harmony" is the ultimate goal of Navajo learning. Instructors Begay and Maryboy will explain how Navajo philosophy affects the college's approach to history. They will discuss the "historic grief of communication" and show how they use personal narratives and local history to facilitate their teaching of Navajo history.
- 1:00 pm Break.
- 3:15 pm Discussion.
- 5:00 pm Dinner at NCC Cafeteria.
- 6:30 pm "History of Navajo Education" Panel--TBA.

Wednesday, June 14--Navajo Oral and Cultural History

7:30 am Breakfast at NCC Cafeteria.

9:00 am Navajo Oral History--Harry Walters. This presentation will take a theoretical approach to Navajo Oral history and cosmology, it will examine the evolution of the Navajo culture, using the foundation of contemporary ceremonies, customs and practices. It will explore a core of accepted anthropological theories of early Navajo occupation in the Southwest, Athapaskan migration and the divergence of the Navajo language from the Athapaskan stock. Then, it will compare these with Navajo oral history and ceremonies and the perspective on early life and development.

10:15 am Break.

10:30 am Navajo Culture and Philosophy--Wilson Aronilth, Navajo Culture instructor. This presentation will compare Western education with the Diné philosophy of knowledge. Diné philosophy follows a human, natural experience of learning which Aronilth will discuss in this presentation.

12:00 n Lunch at NCC Cafeteria.

1:30 pm Group 1--tour and orientation of NCC museum and archives.
Group 2--tour and orientation of NCC library.

2:30 pm Group 1--tour and orientation of NCC museum and archives.
Group 2--tour and orientation of NCC library.

4:00 pm Occasional Paper Discussion/Breakout sessions.

5:30 pm Navajo Traditional Dinner at Tsaile Lake.

7:00 pm Special Evening Program by Ben Allen Family.

Thursday, June 15--Navajo Historical Sites

7:30 am Breakfast at NCC Cafeteria.

8:00 am Vans leave for Thunderbird Lodge.

The entire day will be spent visiting historic sites in Canyon de Chelly and Canyon del Muerto near Chinle, AZ. Harry Walters will lead the group through Anasazi and historic sites. In particular, Walters will describe how the Navajo's used the Canyon during the battles with Kit Carson and the American Army in 1868, the Long Walk, and the reservation era.

12:00 n Sack lunch near Mummy Cave in Canyon Del Muerto.

6:00 pm Dinner at Junction Cafe in Chinle.

Friday, June 16--Navajo Political History

7:30 am Breakfast at NCC Cafeteria.

8:00 am Vans leave for Window Rock.

9:00 am Navajo Nation Governments--Ferlin Clark, Director of Ford Foundation Teacher Education Project. This presentation will focus on contemporary issues within the Navajo Nation and their impact on the local community. Specific areas of discussion will focus on tribal sovereignty, local empowerment, education, culture, and economic development.

10:15 am Break.

10:30 am Federal Policies and the Navajo Nation--David Wilkins, Assistant Professor of Political Science. This presentation will center on general federal policies affecting Navajo history up to the early 1980s.

11:30 am Discussion.

12:00 n Vans leave for Navajo Nation Inn for lunch.

1:30 pm Group Discussion about "Future Directions for Historical and Anthropological Research"--Moderators, Peter Iverson and Brenda K. Manuelito.

3:00 pm Group tours Navajo tribal museum, arts and crafts building, and tribal complex.

4:30 pm Vans leave for NCC.

5:30 pm Dinner at NCC Cafeteria.

6:30 pm "Navajo Women's Experience and History" Panel--TBA.

Saturday, June 17--Tribal College Libraries/Closing Session

7:30 am Breakfast at NCC Cafeteria.

9:00 am Cheryl Metoyer-Duran of the School of Information and Library Sciences at UCLA will present the results of her study of the Navajo Community College Library system and lead a discussion of how the materials and facilities at the college library might be used for research and teaching. Participants will then compare their home libraries with the resources at NCC.

10:30 am Break.

10:45 am Discussion.

12:00 n Lunch at NCC Cafeteria.

1:00 pm Occasional Paper discussion and organization session.

5:00 pm Dinner at NCC Cafeteria.

Sunday, June 18--

7:00 am Vans leave for Albuquerque International Airport.

8:30 am Breakfast in Gallup, NM.

Family, Local, and Community History:
Some Random Thoughts and a Selected Bibliography

by
Michael James Foret
University of Wisconsin-Stevens Point

The United States has often been referred to as the nation outside of history, and sometimes the nation without history; many of its citizens have been known to exult, if not in having no history, at least in being blissfully unaware of it, and therefore being unconstrained by it. Politicians, commentators, and advertisers may continue to ignore or deny history, or to invent history to serve their purposes, but Americans from every corner of the nation and every demographic profile have not only acknowledged that they have history, but they have begun to seek out that history.

Until recently, family, local, and community history was largely an elite affair. New Englanders were tracing their ancestry back to the Mayflower and establishing historical societies well before the Civil War; the Daughters of the American Revolution and United Daughters of the Confederacy were mainstays of polite society at the turn of this century; local histories of the early 1900s highlighted the accomplishments of builders, bankers, members of boards of directors, and other "bluebloods"; outside of the occasional German, Dutch, or French family name, in most of these endeavors the cast of characters bore a decidedly "Anglo-Saxon" stamp.

As with so many other aspects of American culture, the 1960s and 1970s saw great changes in how Americans viewed their history and heritage. If some of those elite Americans still viewed the

Anglo-Saxon as the best part of the nation's common past, others began to discover, or to rediscover, that their past came out of different traditions. "White ethnics" like Cajuns, Poles, Italians, Portuguese, and the Irish, had succeeded in the dominant culture by assimilating, partially or wholly, into it. They now began to openly celebrate their history and heritage, if sometimes on a selective basis, as not only a valued past, but also a valid part of their present and future. Groups that had not yet been allowed into the mainstream like Blacks, Hispanics, and American Indians argued for the right to retain their traditional cultures while gaining access to the full civil and social rights, and the material prosperity, that others enjoyed as their American birthright.

Americans have long been characterized as a people of action, and self-sufficiency has long been one of their catch-phrases; the self-help books are the steady best sellers. Just as Americans would rather fix their own automobiles and paint their own homes rather than get "specialists" to do the work, more and more citizens have been taking responsibility for their own history, whether on the personal, family, or community level. The bicentennial of 1976, combined with the rediscovery and celebration of ethnicity, gave Americans of every race, creed, and color the opportunity to explore their history and heritage. They created short-term projects of every kind on the local and state level, including oral history projects, exhibits, essay contests, and historical reenactments and tableaux, all of which included not only college professors, museum curators, librarians, archivists, and other professionals, but also

neophyte historians from kindergartners to senior citizens. But they also created on-going historical organizations and institutions such as historical societies, educational foundations, museums, and essay competitions. Public History--professional and amateur historians working not in the classroom but in libraries, archives, museums, publishing, and other activities--is still a growth industry.

There are several different types of history available to those who want to practice history on a human scale, that is, on the local level. Genealogy is an allied discipline that is often the starting point for family and local historians which shares more of the materials and techniques of history than most historians realize. Some genealogists are content to assemble family trees, an activity which can be personally satisfying; but standing alone, family trees are little more than (no pun intended) related bits of data that have little relevance outside of a particular family. But many one-time genealogists have taken their avocation one step farther by writing family histories that build on genealogical research to put life into their family's past by putting their family's past into larger patterns of the national past.

For other practitioners, local or community history is their avocation. While a few professional historians have studied state history, most have traditionally been occupied by regional, national, or international history, leaving local history--except perhaps for a few large urban areas--untouched. Local history, like family history, is usually a good news/bad news proposition. The good news is that the local historian gets to research and

write about something no one has ever worked on before, which is an exciting and rewarding endeavor. The bad news, unfortunately, is that the local historian has to start at the very beginning with little or none of the spade work already done.

For some people who do not have professional historians around to advise them on doing family, local, or community history, getting started is such a daunting prospect that they never do. People who want to do their own history, however, can take advantage of what professional historians have published to guide them in their endeavors. Some publications address the theory and practice of history, while others guide amateur historians to published or unpublished sources they can use to reconstruct their personal, local, or community past.

What follows is a short bibliography of materials that introduce the theory, practice, method, and sources for family, local, and community history. Many of these publications overlap each other significantly in parts, and each contains references to other publications that practicing historians--whether they have professional degrees or not--will want to consult as well. Because of the nature of this publication, it includes specific materials on American Indian genealogy, family, and local history. These books, pamphlets, and articles open a window into one of the most interesting and important subjects we can ever study: ourselves.

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- Bertaux, Daniel, and Paul Thompson, eds. Between Generations: Family Models, Myths, and Memories. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993. This volume contains some oral histories, as well as information that helps to make sense of the "family" in family history.
- Blumenson, John J. G. Identifying American Architecture: A Pictorial Guide to Styles and Terms, 1600-1945. Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1977.
- Bowditch, George. Cataloging Photographs: A Procedure for Small Museums. Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1971.
- Brecher, Jeremy. History from Below: How to Uncover and Tell the Story of Your Community, Association, or Union. New Haven, Conn.: Advocate Press, 1986.
- Britchart, Ronald K. Local Schools: Exploring Their History. Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1986.
- Brown, Cynthia Stokes. Like it Was: A Complete Guide to Writing Oral History. New York: Teachers and Writers Collaborative, 1988. This is a manual aimed at high school and college students, but serves as a good source for getting the research down on paper.

Carlberg, Nancy Ellen. Using the Family History Library Computer System. Anaheim, Calif.: Carlberg Press, 1990.

Carpenter, Cecelia Svinth. How to Research American Indian Blood Lines: A Manual on Indian Genealogical Research. Orting, Wash.: Heritage Quest, 1987.

Cerny, Johni and Arlene Eakle. Ancestry's Guide to Research: Case Studies in American Genealogy. Salt Lake City, Utah: Ancestry Publishing, 1985. An excellent guide, well written and easy to understand, useful to the beginning and the advanced genealogist.

Cerny, Johni and Wendy Elliott, eds. The Library: A Guide to the LDS Family History Library. Salt Lake City, Utah: Ancestry Publishing, 1988. Because of certain religious beliefs concerning retroactive baptism of ancestors, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (the Mormons) has created the Family History Library, the single best source for genealogical materials from not only the United States, but the world. This finding aid identifies the county and state records they hold on microfilm, and information on how to obtain them. A large volume, it is worth the price and the bulk, especially for those with peripatetic ancestors.

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Danzer, Gerald A. Public Places: Exploring Their History. Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1987.

Dunaway, David K. and Willa K. Baum, eds. Oral History: An Interdisciplinary Anthology. Nashville: Association for State and Local History, 1984. This collection of essays is another essential reference work. It contains a number of essays by leading oral history practitioners that explore, in-depth, particular aspects of oral history practice.

Estus, Charles et al. "An Interdisciplinary Approach to Community Studies." History Teacher, XIII (Nov. 1979).

Felt, Thomas Edward. Researching, Writing, and Publishing Local History. Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1976.

Fontana, Bernard. "American Indian Oral History." History and Theory, 8 (1969): 366-370.

Gordon, Michael. "Seeing and Fleeing Ourselves: Local Oral Histories of Communities and Institutions." Oral History Review, 17, 1 (1989): 117-128.

Gouldrup, Lawrence P. Writing the Family Narrative. Salt Lake City, Utah: Ancestry Publications, 1987.

Guide to the Microfilm Edition of the American Indian Oral History Collection, 1967-1972: Navajo. Albuquerque, N.M.: Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico General Library, 1991. A printed guide to the fifteen Navajo tapes listed above.

Hale, Duane Kendall. Researching and Writing Tribal Histories. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Michigan Indian Press, 1991. Hale, who is part Creek, has written a basic, one-volume guide to research materials, published and unpublished, for tribal historians. Although he has included some basic instruction in the historical method, however, this guide is more valuable for the bibliographies and other lists, such as those of Indian periodicals and subject headings for Bureau of Indian Affairs documents. Although most of the book concentrates on the United States, there is an entire chapter on sources for Canadian Indian history. This book should be in every tribal library, as well as the personal libraries of anyone doing Indian history.

Haley, Alex. "Black History, Oral History, and Genealogy." Oral History Review, 1 (1973): 1-25. By the author of Roots, a novel and television movie based on oral history that helped to spark nationwide interest in family and local history, this article reflects on the possibilities for reconstructing Black community history using a variety of sources and techniques, some at least of which should be applicable to other ethnic groups.

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Hoopes, James. Oral History: An Introduction for Students. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979. A very good, one-volume guide to (some) theory and (lots of) practical practice, presented step-by-step; now available in paperback.

Ives, Edward D. An Oral Historian's Work. Video. VHS. Color. 33 min. Sheldon Weiss, 1987. Blue Hills Falls, Maine.

Jolly, Brad. Videotaping Local History. Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1982.

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- Pizer, Laurence R. A Primer for Local Historical Societies. 2nd ed. rev. Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1991.
- Reed, Robert D. How and Where to Research Your Ethnic-American Cultural Heritage: Native Americans. Saratoga, Calif.: Robert Reed, 1979.

Russo, David J. Families and Communities: A New View of American History. Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1974.

Serikau, Laurie R. "Oral History in Ethnic Communities: Widening the Focus." Oral History Review, 17, 1 (1989): 71-87.

Smith, Jessie Carney. Ethnic Genealogy: A Research Guide. Forward by Alex Haley. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1983. This book has separate sections for different ethnic groups, including Native Americans.

Teaching and Writing Local History: Lac Courte Oreilles. Occasional Papers in Curriculum Series No. 16. Chicago, Ill.: The Newberry Library, 1994. A predecessor to this volume, it contains several essays that address Ojibway issues in particular, but which should have relevance to other nations as well.

Thompson, Paul. The Voice of the Past: Oral History. Second ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988. Thompson, who is British, has written an introduction to oral history that reflects his strong commitment to oral history as a way to research and write history solidly based on the lives of ordinary people and their communities. Thompson provides an in-depth discussion of oral history as evidence as well as the "social function of history." This book is at once a practical guide to doing oral history and a scholarly essay on some of the fundamental issues of the historian's craft.

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**Portraying National and Ethnic History:
Implications for Local and Reservation History**

by
Nancy J. Parezo
University of Arizona

Anthropology has had a long tradition of utilizing museums as one of its main venues for research and public education. In fact, anthropology as a discipline developed in museums. Most of the major anthropology departments grew out of museums and in the late nineteenth-early twentieth centuries the collection and study of ethnographic artifacts played an important role in the professionalization of the discipline. Museums, as institutions designed to house and preserve collections and information of all kinds, especially those that expanded human knowledge and understanding, were logical bases for a discipline that stemmed from a natural history perspective. The object-orientation of museums lent itself to the visual presentation of anthropological information, something that the general public could easily grasp. And archaeology and ethnology conducted in the museum context reinforced the historical orientation of anthropology (Parezo and Hardin 1993). This tradition continues to this day.

All anthropology museums have multiple responsibilities to the public. (1) They have a fiduciary trust to care for the objects and information entrusted to their care. (2) They must generate new knowledge about the people who made and used the objects housed in their facilities. (3) They must use the collections to educate all visitors in creative, attractive, and user-friendly exhibits. (4) They must ensure that the information presented is as accurate and up-to-date as possible

and that interpretations are based on scholarship of the highest standards. (5) They must help train future generations of museum professionals and scholars. (6) Finally, they must make every effort to share their creativity and scholarship with as many communities as possible through a variety of dissemination outlets--exhibits, formal classroom course work at the university level, public lecture series, gallery talks, K-12 school programs, demonstrations, and publications.

This responsibility to increase cross-cultural understanding has been at the forefront of anthropology museums since they began in the nineteenth century. In fact, the general public often meets anthropological perspectives for the first time in museums. Along with movies, popular fiction, and now documentary television shows, anthropological displays of peoples from around the world are the first place that the general public meets other peoples whose ways of life are often distinctively different from their everyday experiences. Museum displays must be undertaken with care.

This has not always been an easy undertaking, and museum anthropologists have not always accomplished their educational goals. Exhibits reinforce and reflect the cultures of their makers. Exhibits are not only about objects or factual information or scholarly interpretations; they are also about the people who make and view them. Exhibits create and substantiate societal myths and reinforce preconceptions about basic cultural categories; in the United States this includes the subordinate status of women and their place in the home, the idea of the vanishing Indian, or the happy Hispanic. Exhibits are public

discourse.

Many museum visitors are uncomfortable with traditional ethnographic exhibits--rows upon rows of objects, life groups, or dioramas--which tend to be static. They seem to freeze people in the past by not linking their stories to the present, thereby often failing to interpret the realities of life for the peoples depicted. In many cases it appears that cultures exist in spatial and temporal vacuums, never interacting with other groups and never changing through time. Old people are never seen; a typical diorama contains an Anglo-American style nuclear family or groups of men performing ritualistic, hunting or similar activities. Women passively have their backs to the viewer and sit on the ground, either making a useful object or receiving some gift from a standing male. Figure positions and layout reflect status ideas as much as cultural roles. Texts written completely in the past tense, without qualifying chronological times frames, make Indians universalistic or nostalgic representatives of an outdated past. An unfortunate and unintended effect of this approach has been that it perpetuates stereotypes of native peoples and does little to change existing views.

Museum anthropology's challenge then is to display the cultural vitality and historical depth of all cultures, including Indian cultures. How can objects be combined with written words, voices and graphics to portray the richness and complexity of Indian lives through time, by regions, by cultures, and by topic, without either overwhelming the visitor with cultural details or being too simplistic or homogeneous? How can we eliminate

ethnocentric biases with regard to gender, age, class, and race? This was a challenge that the Arizona State Museum undertook as it gutted its outdated (forty year old) ethnographic exhibits and erected new displays. Our solution: ethnohistory became the paradigm for the permanent exhibit and ethnography was retained for temporary displays.

The Paths of Life Exhibit

The exhibit, Paths of Life: American Indians of the Southwest and Northern Mexico, opened its first phase in November, 1993 and the second in January 1995. It was the result of a productive collaboration involving Indian advisors and staff members of the Arizona State Museum. It was, in essence, a ten year undertaking that involved the ethnology-ethnohistory curators working in conjunction with the public programs, collections, conservation, and an exceptionally creative exhibits staff. A planning and two implementation grants were obtained from the National Endowment for the Humanities as well as funding from private foundations and individuals. In all, close to \$2 million dollars were needed to plan and erect the exhibit. Just as important was the evolving conceptualization of a new style of permanent exhibit and the collaborative process involved.

First we treated the entire exhibit as a single multi-component research project that attempted to explore humanistic themes, social issues, historic events, and cultural values. We based our central theme on the work of anthropologist Edward Spicer, our professor and mentor, especially his masterful work, Cycles of Conquest (1962). We especially used his ideas of

enduring peoples and ethnic diversity. Enduring means more than simply surviving. Enduring peoples are those who have maintained a strong sense of their own ethnic identity in the face of conquest, persecution, exile, and in some cases attempted genocide. Spicer had argued that while symbols of language, homeland, and racial identity can bind a group together, persistence of a people did not necessarily depend on the maintenance of racial purity, the retention of a language, or the continuous occupation of a homeland. We asked: how did communities that had experienced so much in the post-contact period--disease and starvation, the loss of land and water, enforced labor, and even slavery--retain such a strong sense of self?

We also knew that many well-informed people throughout the world still believe that Indians have either died out or been assimilated into mainstream Mexican or American culture. This meant that we had to meet pernicious stereotypes about American Indian cultures head on because of what Spicer (1994) has termed "cultural blindness:" the self-induced inability of politically and numerically dominant peoples to see subordinated nations, ethnic groups, races, or groups viewed as in some way "deviant," in ordinary focus. This marginalizes affected groups by nullifying the legitimacy of their distinctive cultures, histories, and humanity. Ultimately, cultural blindness can be used to deny non-dominant groups access to basic resources. How could the exhibit make clear that people can retain their distinctive identities while interacting with the societies that surround them?

Over a two-year period a planning team held marathon conceptual meetings to research and discuss these problems, to visualize the ideas, and to develop story lines for exhibit units. We agreed on a fundamental theme--the persistence of ethnic identity in the face of constant change. On a methodological level the central issue was to effectively combine history and ethnography in an exhibit about native cultures when most historical documents on which we rely were written by Euro-Americans; these were in many cases biased or one-sided accounts. How also could we show that, while Indians were at times without political power, in important ways they were never powerless? What was important to each Indian society and how had these values affected the paths each chose? Assuming that the general visitor came without much information about Native Americans and their histories, what should they learn about American Indians in general and about each group in particular after having walked through the exhibit? We agreed that one of the main purposes of a permanent exhibit of this kind was to directly confront misinformation and stereotypical attitudes and to try to convey history and historical events from each group's perspective.

On a practical level, a central problem was size, scope, and the unevenness of the collections. The museum had only so much space and could not encompass all the southwestern cultures in the depth they deserved. After considerable discussion, ten tribal groups were selected: Comáac (Seri), Rarámuri (Tarahumara), Yoemem (Yaqui), O'odham (Pima and Tohono O'odham), Colorado River Yumans (Quechan, Mohave, and Cocopa), Ningwi

(Southern Paiute), Pai (Havasupai, Hualapai, and Yavapai), Indé (Western Apache), Diné (Navajo), and Hopi. It was decided that these would be done at a cultural or tribal level. Each unit begins with tribal accounts of origins and migrations, followed by a section on historical events and cultures since European contact. This continues through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and ends with a section on contemporary life, emphasizing the reality of change. However, since we could not be encyclopedic we decided to convey the richness of certain themes in their historical and cultural contexts while recognizing that the resonance of ritual and strong bonds with the land are vital elements of cultural identities. Thus the portrayal of each group centers on a self-selected metaphor: for the O'odham it was water, for the Western Apache it was living in mountains, for the Hopi it was agriculture. For all a sense of family and community permeated the choices as did a range of responses and initiatives to the intrusions of Spaniards, Mexicans and Anglo-Americans--from resistance to accommodation to transformation.

The many different paths selected to deal with common problems and opportunities are shown to be rooted in specific world views and philosophies. Paths of Life combines ethnographic understandings with written and oral history. Both Native American and Anglo scholarship were treated with respect and we assessed the strengths and weaknesses of each. We used creation stories, sacred myths and songs (with permission), oral traditions, archaeological and ethnographic data, letters from missionaries, military reports, photographs, autobiographies and

biographies, interview data, and the recollections of tribal elders. All photographs and artifacts were dated as accurately as possible to reinforce the point that all cultures have histories and that these change through time and endure. All individuals were identified in order to eliminate the problem of the "anonymous native" as much as possible. Direct quotes from people who participated in events were used whenever possible in order to make the point that actual individuals had lived through events. This also personalized the exhibit for the viewer.

While stressing the beauty and strength of each group, the exhibit also directly addressed issues and problems faced by native peoples who live in multicultural societies that utilize forms of internal colonialism: land and water rights, sovereignty issues, and the exploitation of resources by outsiders. Also treated were issues of economic poverty, unemployment, alcoholism, diabetes and the like. These were interspersed with shared strengths: close ties to the land, enduring cultural traditions, vital religious beliefs, and strong family networks. The goal was to visualize the complexity of native life, in the past as well as the present, and to ensure that native peoples and their lives were not romanticized or treated in a patronizing manner.

Despite the commonalities, each tribal group has its own philosophy and way of life. To emphasize the distinctiveness of each society, we asked native scholars and cultural advisors to identify specific cultural values that have shaped and continue to provide direction for each culture's actions. We used these as interpretive themes to highlight the uniqueness of each tribal

group.

Displaying Navajo History

Dr. Jennie Joe, Clarendia Begay (director of the Navajo Tribal Museum), Navajo students and interns Grace Boyne, Nicole Horseherder-Higley, Gregory Redhouse, Jocelyn Salt, Bruce Hilpert, and I worked on the Navajo unit. We asked ourselves what were the important events in Navajo history that shaped native views and ideas of ethnic identity? How could we portray how the Navajo have endured without falling into the trap that they were timeless peoples? For the Navajos are heterogeneous and diverse. For our central metaphors and themes we decided on Navajo concepts of movement--following the Beautiful Trail, hozho, creativity, pastoralism and the importance of sheep, and the transmission of knowledge from generation to generation. The sense of community with the land, sanctioned by religious belief, was also a critical theme.

The exhibit begins with the creation story, the clan migration legends and the finding of the Navajo homeland. From there, sheep are introduced and their importance to Navajo life is displayed through photographs, quotes, and objects. Most important are textiles--something that all visitors expect and demand to see. These are shown not through the usual stylistic (by trading post) or chronological framework but as a way to discuss Navajo aesthetic creativity and how the process and act of creation is more important than the product itself.

The theme of activity, movement and process begins with history at the Place Where the Waters Crossed and follows the

Navajo People through important events that have affected their lives: their journey to Diné'tah, meeting the Pueblos in the Southwest, encounters with the Spanish and Anglo-Americans, obtaining sheep, the Long Walk, returning to the homeland, the re-establishment of a pastoral lifestyle, the sheep reduction programs of the 1930s, World War II and the Navajo code talkers, cars and schools, and urban living. Hardships as well as opportunities are portrayed. In each case, the emphasis is on how the Navajos learned to live in beauty and successfully adapt, often under extremely difficult conditions.

The complexity of Navajo historic change is depicted through the persistence of ethnic identity in the face of constant change. This begins with accounts of the creation of the world and a permanent sandpainting and paintings that symbolize the conjoining of the mythological world and that inhabited by Earth People. Shown as well are how the Navajo took up arms against great odds to defend their homeland, their raiding expeditions and how Navajos incorporated those foreign introductions that enrich life. The later is seen through a small case on silversmithing. Stressed is how the Diné have used new forms of material culture to reinforce Navajo ways of life, of relating to one another, and living off and with the land.

Another theme displayed is the strength of the clan and the extended family. The American nuclear family is a lonely and sterile institution to many native peoples and we decided to visualize the sense of community and social responsibility to each other that has been central to Navajo social and cultural health. The centerpiece of the display is an actual Navajo

household, that of Nicole's grandmother, with real life figures. In it the grandmother faces the audience and weaves. Near her are her daughter and granddaughter (in jeans and t-shirt) spinning and weaving. Seated on a sofa are a father and son (who holds a skateboard) looking through a book on the Navajo Code Talkers. The living room duplicates a typical Navajo house; the family picked out what would be there. On the wall is a picture of their older son in a Marine Corp uniform. An audio unit has the grandmother telling Spider Woman stories to her family. Thus the viewer learns about Navajo weaving just as a Navajo woman would--from the grandmother by listening and watching.

Others sections of the exhibit stress the creativity of the Navajo and show how they have continually incorporated new symbols, ceremonies, ideas and material items and made them distinctively Navajo. Central is the idea of the **Diné Bikeyah**, the spiritual homeland of the Diné, and how this is marked by four sacred mountains. How sheep have nurtured the Navajo and how the Navajo have nurtured sheep is a continuous theme of the exhibit.

The exhibit had to be based on the concept of **hozho**; it had to be harmonious and balanced, portraying the bad as well as the good that has affected the Navajo people. Thus we spoke of the terrors of the Long Walk as well as the beauty of Navajo tapestries. We tried to convey the emotional effect of the sheep reduction as well as the evident happiness of a young boy herding sheep on a bicycle. Since one of the principal ways that enduring peoples persist is through symbols, rituals and words, there are audio units throughout the exhibit: the story of the

creation is told by male and female elders; other elders speak of the Long Walk and relate the experiences of the Navajo Code Talkers in World War II.

The display ends with an exposition on contemporary life. Shown are photographs of Navajos who reside on the reservation and in cities. There are pictures of people herding sheep in front of an electric generating plant, farmers and ranchers, lawyers, government officials, educators, teachers, doctors, nurses, engineers, auto mechanics, homemakers, anthropologists and novelists. In this way we hoped to eliminate the persistent stereotypes of the Indian as Noble Savage, as Natural Man, as Victim, and as Primordial Ecologist and the ability of Navajos to live successfully in an industrial society and still remain Navajo. The last image a person sees upon leaving the exhibit is a life size photograph of University of Arizona President Manuel Pacheo presenting a diploma to a young Navajo woman.

Implications for Local Histories

Constructing an exhibit at the national, cultural or social level means that a great deal of internal variability must be eliminated. The comparison in an exhibit like Paths of Life is between equivalent tribal groups and it is easy for an unsophisticated viewer to conceptualize each society as a homogeneous unit. All societies are heterogeneous but this cannot be conveyed without overwhelming the viewer in a large multi-unit exhibit of this kind. Lost is regional variability as well as family, clan, and individual perspectives. When having an individual speak in the caption under a photograph, the voice

is not so much that of an individual with a unique history, but of a "typical" person of the group. The individual is made to speak for the group, rather than a subset of the group.

One way to ensure that societies are not treated as monolithic and homogeneous entities would be to construct a major exhibit or a series of smaller temporary exhibits that portray local histories. One could combine an oral history and community history project in this undertaking, and thereby provide a venue for multiple histories and perspectives. For example, one could have units on life in camps in Sheep Springs or Mexican Hat. One could also visualize the history of life in urban centers or border towns. One could compare this to life in the Chuska Mountains. One could discuss the development of Shiprock, Tuba City and Chinle. The possibilities are endless. We often hear that there are distinctive differences in the life styles of the eastern and the western reservation. An exhibit could assess whether this is true. Letting community members help decide on the important themes and issues will allow what is important to them and their histories to be visualized and communicated. The exhibits could become effective educational preservation tools for communities or clans.

Exhibits are powerful means of communication that are as effective as formal classwork. They have the potential to reach large groups of people and they can speak to individuals on many levels. This can include those who cannot read or who learn best through visual means; they are provided alternatives to classroom settings. Exhibits have visual impact that is often lost in text books and monographs. A good exhibit combines powerful ideas,

concepts and perspectives with objects and images in order to create an aesthetically pleasing and educationally effective work. It will be an effective tool for local history.

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Global View of Local History

by
Tom Hall
DePauw University

I. Introduction¹

My intention in this paper is to facilitate dialog between those of us who indulge in large-scale, social science studies and local historians. My argument is that while we engage in significantly different kinds of scholarship, with importantly different methods, tools, goals, and styles of exposition, we have much to learn from each other. Furthermore, I argue that we each, and collectively, have more to gain by cooperating across those differences, even while respecting them.

I begin my comments with a brief statement of my views on the relationship between history and social science,² starting with a few familiar, parallel binary oppositions:

HISTORY	<----->	SOCIAL SCIENCE
SPECIFIC	<----->	GENERAL
FACTS	<----->	THEORY
NARRATIVE	<----->	EXPLANATION
IDEOGRAPHIC	<----->	NOMATHETIC

Rather than see these conflicting opposites, I think it is more useful to think of them as complementary approaches to the past. In rethinking his work on scientific revolutions (1970) Thomas Kuhn wrote of the "essential tension" (1977) between so-called normal science, that is, everyday, workman-like, research and revolutionary science, that is, those relatively rare, great shifts in the ways in which science is done, as in the shift to relativistic physics. Part of his point, captured in his phrase, is that the tension, the strain, the uneasy complementarity

between the two forms of science was necessary for either to be done well. Each prompted the other, and each limited the excesses of the other.

As I see it, there is a directly analogous "essential tension," or uneasy complementarity, between history and social science, or any of the other pairs listed above. Each is necessary to the other. Together they form a whole that leads to deeper understanding than either alone can achieve. This does **not** mean that everyone must do both all the time. By temperament, inclination, training, and practice individuals tend to specialize in one or the other. But this specialization does not mean that they cannot be aware of the other and learn from the other and teach the other.

I currently work in one of the more extreme versions of world-systems theory--the hyphen and the plural in these terms are important and highly politicized (Wallerstein 1983, 1993; Thompson 1983). Briefly, world-system theory is concerned with explaining the history of domination of nearly the entire planet by Europeans over the last five hundred years or so. A key insight of this perspective is its recognition of a form of social organization larger than the state--the world-system--that both shapes and is shaped by its component parts, which include states, but also tribes and other nonstate-organized peoples, the so-called fourth world. The political "fourth world" should not be confused with the *Diné* concept of fourth world.

Recently a few world-system writers (myself included) have begun to examine much older social structures that at least vaguely resemble world-systems. Hence world-system theory has

become world-systems theory. Key questions among these writers is how did the "modern" world-system originate, and how is it different from and similar to earlier world-systems?

World-system(s) writers tend to take history in large chunks. For instance my book on the "southwest" (really, for most of the period of European occupation, the northwest of New Spain), is titled: Social Change in the Southwest, 1350-1880 (1989a). This sort of sweep, over five hundred years, is so foreign to some historians, that the dates are often assumed to be a typographical error for 1850-1880. But this is only a result of incommensurate ways of viewing the world.

A serious critique of world-system theory is that it is "Eurocentric," or at least "corecentric"--which for the modern world-system is the same thing. This critique is doubly ironic. On the one hand Immanuel Wallerstein, founder of world-system theory, began his academic career studying social change in Africa. On the other hand, the marxist roots of world-system theory would lead one to expect greater, not lesser, attention to those at the bottom of the social scale.

Even when those on the bottom are studied they are often seen only as passive victims. One of Vine Deloria's classic statements about Indians applies here:

One of the finest things about being an Indian is that people are always interested in you and your "plight." Other groups have difficulties, predicaments, quandaries, problems, or troubles. Traditionally we Indians have had a "plight."

Our foremost "plight" is our transparency. People can tell just by looking at us what we want, what should be done to help us, how we feel, and what a "real" Indian is really like. (Deloria 1969: 9).

Unfortunately, some world-system writing falls into the same

trap. Not only with respect to Indians, but Native peoples everywhere.

I have been one of those critics who have pointed to this problem. However, I consider myself a "friendly critic" in that I do not want to abandon world-system theory or other such macro approaches to the study of social change. Rather, I seek to push them to study local actors and pay attention to their efforts.

Another inspiration for my work on the Southwest was Eric R. Wolf's Europe and the People Without History (1982). Wolf chastised social scientists and historians for acting as if history only began when written documents became available, which for many parts of the world meant when Europeans arrived. Wolf's point was that this is nonsense. History happened whether or not anyone wrote it down. Clearly, though, in the absence of documents, it is harder to study. But that only means we must use other, non-textual sources and work harder, not that we should quit.

Robert Pirsig expresses, at least metaphorically, one aspect of my view of how these global processes and local people interact when he commented on how two of his motorcycling companions could not be bothered with the technology of motorcycle maintenance:

The Buddha, the Godhead, resides quite as comfortably in the circuits of a digital computer or the gears of a cycle transmission as he does at the top of a mountain or in the petals of a flower (Pirsig 1974: 26).

Likewise, what happens as local history is still part of the world-system and plays an important role in its overall dynamics and evolution and is a vital part of the system's history.

If I understood the discussions of the role of Sá'ah Naagháí Bik'eh Hózhóón and the attempt to "Navajoize" NCC's curriculum, the point is similar. One does not sprinkle a little hózhóó in a few courses. Navajo philosophy must suffuse the curriculum. The entire way of thinking must be revised. This, it seems to me, is also the point of much of the feminist critique of social theory. As Kathryn Ward--a sociologist who has done a great deal of work to compel world-system thinkers to pay attention to gender (1993)--put it: we must get beyond "add gender and stir."

These points, about world-system theory and local history, about Sá'ah Naagháí Bik'eh Hózhóón and the curriculum, and about gender and social sciences, have deeper implications. On the one hand, they imply that one cannot understand local history without attending to world-systemic processes; that one cannot understand any aspect of Diné philosophy and culture without always returning to SNBH; that one cannot understand social life without attending to women's roles in it. But they also imply the converse: that one cannot do world-system history without attending to local history; that one cannot study SNBH in the abstract, but must study it in myriad concrete manifestations; that one cannot understand the lives of women without studying the larger social contexts in which they live and work.

Again, if I have understood the discussions we had at NCC, it seems to me this complementarity is very similar to, if not the same as, the Diné view of masculinity and femininity that Harry Walters described. To take only one--no matter which one--would distort understanding. It is precisely the interactions, the connections, the interpenetration, and the mutuality of the

two that is vital and that makes a whole.

This, I argue, is also the relation between local history and social sciences. It is in this spirit that I will argue that local historians must pay attention to world-systemic processes and dynamics. I will proceed as follows. I continue with a somewhat more detailed explanation of world-system theory, then turn to a discussion of some of its new directions. I will then focus on two I know best: (1) theories of how people become part of the system--and resist becoming part of it--what I label incorporation; and (2) how the expansion of the system creates boundaries zones, frontiers, where incorporation and resistance to it occur. I will end with a few lessons and some unsolved puzzles we might draw from this exposition.

II. What is World-System Theory?³

According to sociologist Immanuel Wallerstein, a world-system is an intersocietal system marked by a self-contained division of labor. Thus it is a "world" (i.e., self-contained) which has some degree of internal coherence and which forms a complete unit (hence the hyphen). The world-system is the fundamental unit of analysis within which all other social processes and structures should be analyzed. If a system is unified politically, he calls it a world-empire; if it is not, he calls it a world-economy. Nonstate units (typically called "tribes") he calls mini-systems and does not analyze. Wallerstein claims that the modern world-system is unique because it is the only one based on capitalism, the only world-economy that has not become a world-empire through conquest, and the only

one to become truly global.

Wallerstein developed world-system theory to explain the origins and interrelations of the first, second, and third worlds and their roles in the rise to dominance of capitalism and industrialization (Wallerstein 1974a, 1974b, 1979, 1980, 1984, 1989, 1991, 1992, 1993). He drew inspiration from the *Annales* school of French historiography and dependency theory.⁴

The "modern world-system" first appeared in western Europe between 1450 and 1650 CE, often called "the long sixteenth century." Early capitalists and merchants needed labor, raw materials, and markets which fueled the expansion of trade networks and often led to formal colonization. The expansion was not steady, but cyclical, which is a fundamental quality of the world-system. The "world"-system only became truly global in the twentieth century.

The division of labor has three components: (1) a core which employs advanced industrial production and distribution, has strong states, a strong bourgeoisie, and a large working class; (2) a periphery which specializes in raw materials production and has states, a small bourgeoisie, and many peasants; and (3) a semiperiphery which is intermediate between core and periphery, in its economic, social, and political roles and its own internal social structure. Core capitalists typically pay peripheral producers less than the full value they produced, thereby accumulating capital. This unequal exchange promotes core development and peripheral impoverishment simultaneously.

A major premise of this theory is that the world-system must be studied as a whole. Therefore, the study of social,

political, economic, or cultural change in any component of the system must begin by understanding that component's role within the system, whether it be a nation, state, region, ethnic group, class, gender role, or "tribe." Thus, the theory has a dual research agenda: (1) how do the processes of the system affect the internal dynamics and social structures of its components; and (2) how do changes in any component affect the entire system?

Several intertwined polemics permeate world-system literature: (1) if and to what degree is poverty or underdevelopment in the periphery necessary for core development; (2) whether exogenous factors (primarily markets) or endogenous factors (e.g., class) are the main agents of change; (3) whether socialism is possible for a region within a capitalist world-system or the entire system must become socialist simultaneously; and (4) whether world-system theory is a useful extension or crude distortion of Marxist theory. World-system theory has been criticized for being overly economic and, as mentioned earlier, for being Eurocentric (i.e., core-centric), state-centrist, and for paying too little attention to states, culture, and gender. In the last decade or so world-system analysts have begun to address these criticisms.

New Directions in World-System Research

There is so much new work that Wallerstein's own writings only sample world-system research (Arrighi 1994; Chase-Dunn and Grimes 1995; Martin 1994). Chase-Dunn (1989) summarizes most of the quantitative studies of the modern world-system. Indeed, so many have written on a world-system theme, that it is no longer

appropriate to refer to it as a theory. It is better called a perspective, a way of approaching intersocietal interactions.⁵ Likewise, this perspective can no longer be associated solely with the work of Immanuel Wallerstein. Indeed, a major mistake--and one that typically vitiates many criticisms of world-system "theory"--that many writers make is to assume that to have read one or two of Wallerstein's works, even his classic statements (1974a, 1974b) is to "understand" the world-system perspective. Researchers working from different theoretical bases within the world-system perspective have addressed many new subjects.

Some of the new topics are: cyclical processes in the world-system (Suter 1992); the roles of women, households, and gender in the world-economy (Ward 1984, 1990, 1993; Smith et al. 1988); the consequences of the collapse of the Soviet Union (Bergesen 1992a; Smith and Böröcz 1995); cities in the world-system (Kasaba 1991); the role of culture in the world-economy (Kiser and Drass 1987; Bergesen 1990, 1991, 1992b, n.d.); and the environment (Bergesen 1995a, 1995b; Chew 1992, 1995a, 1995b); and subsistence (Bradley et al. 1990). Many case studies offer fine-grained analyses of the complex functioning of the world-system with respect to: slavery (Morrissey 1989; Tomich 1990), agrarian capitalism (McMichael 1984; So 1986), peasants (Bunker 1987; Troillot 1988), revolutions (Foran 1993), and relations with nonstate or aboriginal peoples to the world-economy (Baugh 1991; Dunaway 1994, 1996; Hall 1983, 1986, 1987, 1989a, 1991a, 1991b; Harris 1990; Kardulias 1990; Mathien and McGuire 1986; Meyer 1990, 1991, 1994; Peregrine 1992, 1995).

Eric Wolf has suggested that world-system theory is one way

of cumulating anthropological knowledge and building explanations for cultural phenomena (Wolf 1990: 594). One collection of such work is now "in press" (Blanton et al. 1996). In the introduction to my section of that work (Hall 1996c), I argue that there is much work in anthropology that does take cognizance of external connections is world-systemic, but often does not explicitly employ a world-system perspective.

Archaeologists, in particular, have found considerable potential in world-system theory, but have been dissatisfied with the results (Hall & Chase-Dunn 1993). All have recognized, to some degree, that world-system theory cannot be applied wholesale to precapitalist settings.⁶ Pailes and Whitecotton (1975, 1979) were the first to modify world-system theory for use in precapitalist settings. Jane Schneider (1977) wrote one of the most insightful critiques of early world-system theory, questioning Wallerstein's emphasis on bulk to the neglect of luxury goods. Blanton and Feinman (1984) and Santley and Alexander (1992) have also made important critical statements. Schortman & Urban (1994a, 1994b) developed important critical insights in core-periphery relations in their study of southeast Mesoamerica.

These concerns have given rise to a major new area in world-system theory focussing on precapitalist world-systems (Hall and Chase-Dunn 1993, 1994). Janet Abu-Lughod (1989) argues for twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth century roots for the modern world-system, deeper than Wallerstein originally proposed. She also argues that the entire conception of the "rise of the west" is mistaken, and suggests that the "east fell," or at least

withdrew (Abu-Lughod 1989, 1993).

Christopher Chase-Dunn and I (1991, 1993, 1994) have argued that in order to be useful in precapitalist settings many of the assumptions of the theory of the modern world-system must be transformed into empirical questions. Andre Gunder Frank and Barry K. Gills (1992, 1993) have made similar arguments about "the 5000 year world system."

As noted earlier I have been critical of the neglect by mainstream world-system analysts of nonstate and peripheral peoples (1983, 1986, 1989b). I have argued that if there is indeed a world-system its effects should not only be visible in far peripheries, but that it is precisely in far peripheries that certain effects and reactions will be most readily visible. My critique of Wallerstein's concept of incorporation was based on the study of peoples in what we know today as the American Southwest (Hall 1986, 1987, 1989a).

I now turn to a discussion of incorporation, and the place where it typically occurs, frontiers, in some more detail.

III. Incorporation & Frontiers

Discussion of absorption of peoples and regions into the world-system, what I and others have called "incorporation" (Hall 1986, Hall 1987, 1989; Hopkins, et al. 1987; Wallerstein & Martin 1979), focuses attention on local actors. Early work concentrated on how peripheral areas were exploited and so had some tendency to see peripheral peoples as "victims."⁷

In my own work I have focussed mostly on what is now the American Southwest. In that work I expanded Wallerstein's

fundamentally dichotomous approach (in or out of the system) to an extended continuum that emphasizes the degree of incorporation of a region or people. I argued that Wallerstein discusses only the very strong pole of the continuum. I studied how changes in the degree of incorporation both affect those incorporated, and, conversely, how their actions shaped not only the incorporation process but the degree of incorporation. Theorizing of incorporation is far from complete (see Hall 1987). Much work needs to be done. To do it will require more detailed local studies which attend to peripheral actors and their attempts to control, shape, and resist the encroaching world-system.

Others, some of whom have used my expanded concept of incorporation, have begun to do that work in other North American settings (Harris 1990; Kardulias 1990). Melissa Meyer has studied the role of incorporation in changes in the political culture among nineteenth and twentieth century Anishinaabeg (Chippewa/Ojibway) (Meyer 1990, 1991, 1994). Wilma Dunaway has made analogous studies of commodity chains in the fur trade in what became the southeastern U.S. (Dunaway 1994, 1996).

Another area in need of further development is the analysis of spatial relations in the world-system. Geographers have already contributed a great deal (Agnew 1982, 1987; Hugill 1993; Knox & Agnew 1994; Taylor 1993a, 1993b), but there is much more to be done.⁸

One spatial theme that addresses peripheral relations directly is the formation and transformation of frontiers. Clearly, when a world-system expands, new areas are incorporated and boundaries are formed and transformed (Wallerstein 1974b). I

addressed this implicitly in my work on the Southwest (1989a; Markoff 1994) although Paul Kutsche (1991) complained that it should have been addressed explicitly. The point of his well-founded critique was that world-system theory should have a theory of frontiers, but does not. I have begun work on that issue, which is only now reaching general availability (Hall 1994, 1996c, 1996d).

Three themes--precapitalist world-systems, incorporation, and frontiers--intersect in the work of archaeologist Andrew Sherratt on Bronze Age Europe (1993) and in my work with Christopher Chase-Dunn on precapitalist world-systems (1996: Ch. 10).

Sherratt (1993) argues that there is a margin beyond the periphery of the Near Eastern and Mediterranean agricultural and urbanizing world-system in bronze age Europe. He says, "The characteristic of the margin is that it is dominated by time-lag phenomena--'escapes'--rather than structural interdependence with the core" (Sherratt 1993: 43). The latter term, "structural interdependence," is reserved for the periphery.

Sherratt describes how goods flowed often via long chains from the Near East through the periphery and then into northern Europe. He notes that the nodal points of connection to Europe in the Bronze age eventually became important centers on their own. He uses these nodes to divide the world system (no hyphen) into zones of core, periphery, and margin.

Sherratt drew his concept of margin from Jane Schneider's (1977) critique of Wallerstein's emphasis on bulk goods: "Marginality is a distinct concept from periphery. In contrast

to peripheral areas, marginal ones are disengaged from processes of struggle and competition, differentiation, and specialization in relation to much older and more developed centers of civilization" (p. 21).

His concept of "margin" is similar to my concepts of contact periphery and marginal periphery which are areas only partially incorporated into the world-system. Such areas often experienced profound effects from incorporation, and occasionally devastating ones, despite its relatively limited degree.

Still, marginal peripheries typically have experienced milder transformations and hence often preserve older, untransformed or only partially transformed forms of social organization.⁹ This, it seems, is quite close to Sherratt's idea that margins operate at a time-lag and often "escape" core changes.

Christopher Chase-Dunn and I (1993, 1995, 1996), also following Jane Schneider's critique of Wallerstein (1977), distinguish between system boundaries determined by the exchange of bulk goods (Wallerstein's criterion) and boundaries determined by exchange of luxury and prestige goods (high value to weight). We also recognize two other types of boundaries: those based on sustained political or military interaction and those based on the exchange of information. This yields four different boundaries for any world-system. A major theoretical and empirical problem is when, how, and why these boundaries coincide and when they are different. For islands they are typically the same for obvious reasons. For nearly all other world-systems they appear to be different--except the modern world-system in

the twentieth century.

Thus, if we accept that world-systems have as many as four levels of boundary (information, prestige/luxury goods, political/military, and bulk goods) and incorporation into a world-system is a matter of degree, not a matter of stages, then we have a means to begin explaining the formation and transformations of various kinds of transitional zones of incorporation, or types of frontiers. Furthermore, we have a way of sorting out how one type transforms into another as it becomes more tightly incorporated into a world-system. Thus, patterns that we see on a map are actually freeze-frame snapshots of complex processes of incorporation.¹⁰

Another key aspect to this concept of incorporation is the degree to which it is reversible. I argue that incorporation has a grain to it like wood or corduroy. That is, on average, tightening incorporation is easier than loosening incorporation. Thus, the net tendency is for regions and peoples to become incorporated more and more tightly into expanding world-systems, even though loosening of incorporation is not all that unusual historically.

But, what happens when a core collapses, or what amounts to the same thing when viewed from a peripheral area, when connections to the core are cut? Contrary to the claims of Arrighi (1979), loosening of incorporation does not automatically lead to a return to the *status quo ante*. The claim that when incorporation declines or ends previously incorporated areas return to pre-incorporation conditions leads some analysts to fall into the trap Eric Wolf warned us about. It is all too easy

to assume that because there are no state level people present, or because they have not been present for a long time, then there have been no changes, that is, no history. In fact, however, loosening or cutting of connection to a core can have major consequences and can lead either to prosperity or to decline.

If the core is extracting some local resource, the loosening or cutting of the connection may allow a return of local prosperity. The taking of slaves, "captives," throughout much of the time of Spanish domination of the "southwest" no doubt undermined the prosperity of those groups who were raided. So that when incorporation decreased and such raiding decreased, some prosperity returned to those who had been raided.¹¹

If, on the other hand, the core supplied some resource for which there was no local substitute, any prosperity that was a consequence of access to that resource would collapse with its loss. This, some writers have argued (see essays in Mathien and McGuire 1986), is behind the collapse of the Chacoan system in the thirteenth century. The loss of trade connections to Mesoamerica undermined the entire Chacoan economy.

Prestige goods are especially prone to this type of effect (e.g., Peregrine 1992, 1995). If some rare good is used by a local elite to shore up its position, then loss of access would undermine its position, unless they could find a substitute good which they can also monopolize. If, however, the good can be produced locally, then the changes to which it gave rise need not reverse. Turquoise is a familiar southwestern prestige good.

Sherratt also notes that local elites may resist adoption of new technologies when those technologies threaten to upset their

monopolies. This is one reason why peripheral elites resist new technologies--not backwardness or superstition, or tradition--but because they know the new technology will undermine their power. The example he uses is the resistance of Bronze Age northern European chiefs to the use of iron--it would undermine their power based on a monopoly over bronze making. In the New World there are myriad examples of local leaders, and ordinary folk, resisting new European goods precisely because they understood their use would destroy their communities. They were not "stupid savages," but very clever social analysts. Sometimes it was the Europeans who were stupid, although they were not above intentionally introducing their goods with explicit intentions of undermining the power of local leaders and destroying native cultures. For instance, early Spanish administrators sought to induce Apache bands to take up firearms in hopes of fostering a dependency on Spaniards for gunpowder. This attempt literally backfired when Apaches learned how to make their own gunpowder.

Thus, loosening of incorporation can produce radically different results, depending on the precise nature of the connection and local circumstances. The volatility of change, is, if anything, greater in loosely incorporated areas, what Sherratt calls margins, than in more tightly incorporated areas. That Sherratt found such similar patterns in a vastly different setting strongly suggests that the analysis of incorporation has wide validity.

This analysis illustrates one of the points I made in the introduction to this essay: that world-system theory must attend to local conditions. Without local history, it becomes simply a

mass of erroneous gross over-generalizations. With local history, it can be a finely honed tool for examining and explaining local social change.

Incorporation also can have profound effects on individuals and groups. Some of the American Indian "tribes" we have come to know in the U.S. southwest were, in fact, created from an aboriginal base in the process of incorporation into first the Spanish empire, subsequently the Mexican state, and then the United States.

The Diné are a prime example. While language, customs, and some vague sense of being the same "people" predate the arrival of Europeans, a strong Diné-wide identity was only created in the course of interaction with succeeding European invaders. As we heard from David Wilkins, a formal tribal government was a twentieth century Navajo invention, developed, I would add, precisely to deal with those "pesky bilagaana!"

Following the work of Melissa Meyer, incorporation can also have divisive effects. For the White Earth Anishinaabeg increasing incorporation broke down old clan and band distinctions and created a division between more and less assimilated Anishinaabeg, or in local parlance, full- and mixed-bloods. Indeed, throughout "Indian country" the full-blood/mixed-blood distinction is a product of incorporation into European societies.

Here, again, though, is a demonstration of the critical value of local history. The full-blood/mixed-blood division has never been as important as clan membership for Navajos. Indeed, the importance of either distinction varies not only from Indian

nation to Indian nation, but within the history of each one. It is only through careful attention to local histories that we can hope to develop an understanding of how incorporation into European society reshapes Native American cultures, and conversely how Native American cultures adapt in order to cope with incorporation and maintain their own cultural identities.

At times incorporation promotes assimilation to the dominant culture: the old, familiar modernization thesis. However, at other times, when groups are pushed into very different roles in production or trade or through competition, group differences can be heightened, promoting ethnic differentiation. Sherratt makes a similar argument (1993: 18, note 13). The often cited conflicts between the League of the Iroquois and neighboring peoples are a North American example.

Finally, I will note that all the groups living in the Southwest at the beginning of the nineteenth century were transformed by incorporation into the United States from autonomous social groups into ethnic/racial minorities--even the erstwhile Spanish rulers.

The examples could be extended and elaborated, but I think the major point is clear: a world-system perspective and local historians need each other. I will, however, draw a few other conclusions and raise a few questions, based on this discussion.

IV. Conclusions and Questions

The preceding examples demonstrate, I hope, the valuable relation between a world-system perspective and local history. They further illustrate the complex interaction between history

and social science with which I began this essay. Used in the ways I have just shown, rather than being a universalizing Eurocentric theory, or an agent of colonialism, a world-system perspective can add to one of the great strengths of local history: demonstrating and even celebrating the uniqueness of each locale and people. Conversely, I also hope I have shown how local historians can contribute to further development and elaboration of theory, even while describing the local and the particular.

An all too common misunderstanding of social theory is that once it is written it is done. While there are a few megalomaniacal social theorists who really think they have explained it all, most of us recognize that theory is something that is always coming into being, always subject to further refinement. A "good" theory not only explains, but also raises new questions.¹² Explanation is a direction, not really an endpoint. Social scientists, like coyote, are always "going there."

I will extend this coyote parallel further. Scientists are forever making new toys, some of which are very useful, but some of which are very harmful. But to many outsiders (and I am sorry to say to some insiders) science, especially theory building, is misunderstood as a project to be completed rather than a process. To ask a scientist, "When will your theory be complete?" is much like asking an American Indian story teller who begins with "Coyote was going there" "Where was Coyote going? Why was he going there?" Asking the question signals that the questioner "just doesn't get it!"¹³

While some pundits have been arguing we are in a "postmodern" age, it is my view that, as Bruno Latour argues (1993), we have never been modern. Therefore we can not be postmodern either! I do not want to push this point too far, but from my very minimal understanding of SNBH Navajos may be nicely advantaged precisely because Navajo philosophy has never got caught up in this linear conception of premodern -> modern -> postmodern. This may be particularly useful in understanding some of the newer approaches to ecology and mathematical modeling, and also the simultaneous uniqueness and generality that perspectives like that of the world-system suggest about local history.

My plea, here, is for local historians to skip over the standard critique of any general theory: "it doesn't work that way in the time and/or place that I study." Rather, I suggest something more useful: "From what I know of such-and-such time and/or place this theory must be modified, elaborated, mended, or revised to account for such-and-such process." In this way we can open a dialog and learn from each other.

There may be a parallel in the "new age" movement. In their fumbling, groping ways this is what many "new agers" are trying to find in various American Indian religions. This is not to vitiate the critiques of Wendy Rose (1992) or Ward Churchill (1994) or the harm that new age seekers may do. While a source of potential trouble, this interest also presents some possibilities of alliances. Like the potential alliance between "greens" and American Indians in protecting the environment (Gedicks 1993; Wilmer 1993), this will be a very nervous and

cautious alliance.

The lesson I wish to take is somewhat larger, though. Navajos are not the only ones to have this advantage. It is there for others too: Lakotas, Anishinaabeg, and so. But it is not identical for all. Each Indian nation has its own particular advantage. These are differences we must all respect. To do so will be easier if we can understand them. That is a task with which local historians can help.

Many questions remain. What is it in Navajo history that makes their story so different from other Native Americans, even other formerly nomadic band societies? How do local cultures, economies, polities interact with world-systemic forces? What are some of the means American Indians have used to resist incorporation? A question that to my knowledge has not been addressed is, what has been the effect on the world-system of Native American resistance to incorporation? Jack Weatherford's catalog (1988) notwithstanding, what have been the contributions of Native Americans to the world-system? How and why do they differ among groups? How are they similar to, or different from, those of other "fourth world" peoples?

A much more important question, from a variety of viewpoints, is how have they survived? Are there any broader lessons to be drawn from this? Franke Wilmer's examination of the survival of indigenous peoples (1993) has yielded some interesting insights into the general issue of sovereignty and survival. She begins The Indigenous Voice in World Politics with the following statement:

In the name of progress and modernization, through colonization and global economic incorporation, the spread of western influence of the past five centuries has resulted in the homogenization of global culture and the ethnocide of countless non-Western tribal peoples (1993: 1).

Later she adds:

Indigenous activism, like a variety of ethnically based movements asserting demands within the international system, can best be understood within the framework of a world society model because of its focus on cultural pluralism as an organizing principle of world order (1993: 199).

She goes on to quote Robert T. Coulter (1990):

In recent years there has been a gradual, inescapable realization, world-wide, that nation-states must change how they behave toward indigenous peoples, because unless they do, it is evident that many indigenous peoples will be destroyed along with their culture, their art, their technology, their languages and ways of life. When this happens, something irreplaceable is lost. The whole world is poorer.

In 1988 I had put it this way:

When any group is forced to change, either by overt policy or by impersonal market forces, when some lifeways are destroyed, something valuable to all humans is lost; yet when a new solution to an old problem is found, something valuable is gained. That, in short, is the simultaneous peril and reward of addressing development problems (Hall 1988: 34).

In combination, the lesson is clear. It is vital that we learn how to preserve local particularity within a global framework.

In pursuing the understanding of the local in the global, and the global in the local, some of the answers will contribute to the survival of us all--at least I hope so.

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Endnotes

1. Many of those who were at Navajo Community College June 12-17 will recognize pieces of various conversations, discussions, lectures, and other exchanges in this paper. Among the many remarks, I want to single out a comment by Nancy Maryboy on the last day when we were all saying a few words about our work and what we might do for the Occasional Paper. Nancy said to me that she saw some potential uses in world-system theory to her work on Navajo philosophy. It was only later when I thought more about (and could no longer talk to her) her comment that I began to be puzzled. In the intervening weeks I have mulled this over, letting it "cook on a back burner of my mind." The connections I have tried to draw with Navajo philosophy in this paper are in large part a result of her comment. I claim no expertise in Navajo Philosophy, having learned much of what I know about it during that week in June. In annotating this paper I have erred on the long bibliography side, in part because of the number of promises I made to cite various works in our many discussions. My thanks to everyone involved for a most stimulating week.
2. Charles Tilly, among many others, has addressed the differences between social history and historical sociology (1981, 1984). This Occasional Paper is not the appropriate place to review that literature. For some thoughtful reviews see John R. Hall (1992) or Ronald Aminzade (1992).
3. This and the following section draw heavily from two encyclopedia articles I have "in press," Hall (1996a, 1996b). The discussion is only intended to introduce world-system theory to those not already familiar with it. The literature surrounding world-system theory is highly contentious. There are articles and books written disputing virtually every statement in this summary. While the subsequent sections will make clear that there is much to challenge, I do argue that a world-system perspective still has much to recommend it.
4. The Fernand Braudel Center at the State University of New York, Binghamton concentrates on world-system studies and publishes its major journal, Review. Libraries often catalog Review under the center's name, so turns up under "F" as often as "R"--a cause of some grief for researchers unaware of this.
5. In Kuhn's sense (1970) I would claim world-systems has now become a paradigm with many competing and contesting theories within the paradigm. In Kuhn's use, a paradigm is logically more general than a theory (explanation). It is a set of guiding assumptions and approaches that direct one to ask questions, and develop theories (note the plural here) that attempt to answer those questions. I have tried to be even-handed in describing them, but as will become

abundantly clear below, I am a contender for some against others. I have tried to cite authors from "opposing" views so as to alert readers to views different from my own.

6. By "precapitalist" they mean before approximately 1500 CE, the rise of Europe in the long sixteenth century. The prefix "pre" is not intended to convey a notion of inevitability, but of chronology.
7. Jack Weatherford's Indian Giver (1988) despite its shortcomings (Churchill 1994), remains a useful antidote to this tendency since it examines the actions of North and South American Indians and their contributions to the world.
8. The following discussion on spatial implications draws heavily from Hall 1995 and Hall and Chase-Dunn 1995.
9. The latter idea was developed from Gonzalo Aguirre Beltran's concept of "Region of Refuge" (Aguirre Beltran 1979).
10. Sherratt's (1993) account presents maps that show this quite well.
11. The actual events are more complicated than this, but as a broad brush overview, this holds. For details see Hall (1989a) and references listed there.
12. Indeed, one pressure for scientific revolutions is a set of theories, a paradigm, that has run out of new questions (Kuhn 1970).
13. For some insightful "Anglo" discussions of Coyote stories see Bright 1993 or Ramsey 1977.

Back Door Learning and Front Door Opportunities:
Some Reflections on Teaching a Native History Course in
Rural Alaska

by
Mary Denise Thompson
University of Alaska, Fairbanks

In this paper I will examine the nature and challenges unique to teaching an Alaska Native history course via distance delivery. First I will discuss the concept of distance education and the particular instructional design process involved with audioconferencing. Then I will briefly consider the specific content area of Alaska Native history. More specifically I will discuss the challenge of delivering such a course designed to be compatible with both personal and professional goals. Finally I will touch on the sociohistorical setting of rural Alaska which has become the rich backdrop for the educational experiences of diverse teachers and students.

Distance Education and Instructional Design

Distance education refers to organized forms of study where individuals participate as students at a distance from the instructor. Communication between student and instructor is not face to face, but relies primarily on written and electronic means. The instructor facilitates learning--learning that is largely an individual process which does not occur in a traditional classroom. The term "distance education" covers a variety of non-traditional methods of study, all of which have some form of self-instructional study material, multi-media support and, if possible, supplemental or tutorial support (Keegan and Holmberg 1983).

Whether the form of study is correspondences or classes using audio or video support, distance education is relegated to the "fringe of ordinary teaching," and presumed to be "back door learning." Wedemeyer further remarks on this relegation:

Back door learning has been something of an embarrassment to traditional institutions ... In ways characteristic of any bureaucracy, the viewpoints, policies, and procedures of traditional education have denigrated, dismissed, or downplayed the self-initiated and self-directed efforts of learners. It is almost as though such learners don't really exist; as though their achievements in learning can't be identified, measured and compared with the achievements of traditional learners (1983: 128).

My experience in Alaska leads me to believe that distance education struggles to maintain both high standards of teaching and accurate assessments of learning commensurate with mainstream, traditional learning institutions. Learners in Alaska are like learners everywhere. However, meeting the instructional needs of these learners are challenging given that (1) the overall learning environment is non-contiguous and does not look like the traditional classroom, or even the traditional campus, and that (2) within this unique environment the responsibility of learning is shifted to the individual students.

In Alaska many rural students have access to campus-based courses, cross-regional audio courses, correspondence study and locally based on site courses. Wedemeyer comments on the diverse range of activities which taken together represent "non-traditional learning at the back door":

At one end is learning undertaken ... with complete autonomy and independence. At the other is learning undertaken in a transactional relationship with educational programs and institutions, but entered into by the choice of the learner on the basis of his own needs, concerns, and aspirations. Such learning employs non-traditional methods that afford opportunity and access irrespective of learner location and

situation, and that in varying degrees place the learner at or near the center of the teaching-learning relationships (1983: 129).

For Alaskan villages which have historically been excluded from mainstream schooling, access to higher education via distance-delivered courses is not just valuable, but in fact democratizing. This focus on the Native learner in remote areas is one of the attractions for me to teach via distance delivery. One of the many things I learned from teaching was that if designed well, for a community or a specific audience, distance education courses can rival traditional instruction both in terms of process and product for both the instructor and the student.

Before discussing the specific course I offered, let us first talk about some general considerations of designing a distance-delivered course. Not unlike designing any course, there are four aspects to consider to ensure success--design, development, evaluation and revision. However, these represent traditional ways (Willis 1989). For the purpose of this paper I will only discuss one important design issue--audience.

Why do students study at a distance? Why is instruction needed by the audience? By answering these two questions instructors identify important characteristics of learners, and their instructional needs (Willis 1989). As a land grant institution, University of Alaska Fairbanks is mandated to serve the learning needs of all students throughout the state. The College of Rural Alaska (UAF) has several campuses devoted to serving the needs of rural students. These students take classes through a variety of formats which allow them to move back and forth between rural and urban areas without question about course

content or comparability.

I was hired by the Interior Aleutians Campus (which services over 50 village and rural communities) to teach Alaska Native Studies courses and to design anthropology courses. History of Alaska Natives (HIST 110) had not been taught via distance delivery, but had been offered for several years on campus for Fairbanks students. There was an interest by both rural, degree-seeking students and by rural teachers becoming recertified to expand the course offerings, and consequently HIST 110 was selected for distance delivery. I adapted the course for such delivery (see Course Syllabus) and taught it in the Spring 1993.

Alaska Native History and Teaching Goals

In discussing the strategies for teaching at a distance, Willis makes the following important comments:

While the actual content presented in distance delivered courses will vary little from that presented in more traditional settings, the strategies used to present it might be quite different. In addition, the contextual examples in which the content is grounded will often be adapted to reflect the diverse student groups participating in the course (1989: 7).

Even though I had a small class, a student of Russian descent and several Alaska Natives took the course. I had to allow for rich discussions around the historical issues and questions, only some of which were already built into the course. Since distance delivery diminishes contact with and among students, these rich discussions were all the more important in order to understand both the process of distance learning and the actual content of the course. Occasionally I had to allow for the discussions and table the material I had planned to review until the following

week or have them review independently.

The opportunities for feedback and thoughtful interaction among the students (who in all likelihood will never meet, and who were separated by thousands of miles) were worth the occasional reorganization of content covered by the instructor. It is not surprising that my role as instructor more closely resembled that of a facilitator, who encouraged those with unique expertise to share their experiences with the class.

Several of the students were elementary school teachers. These teachers requested doing the assignments often with an eye toward creating a product useful in their own classrooms. I encouraged this modification of the assignments and assessed their work taking into account their pedagogical concerns. These modifications had to be negotiated during 'office hours' which were held via the telephone.

I also discovered that I had to take an interdisciplinary approach to the material. The readings were drawn from several disciplines because that allowed for a fuller picture of Native history. At times Native students volunteered to make the connections between the readings and their daily lives, advancing the discourse of the course to levels unanticipated. At the core of the course were three themes: (1) understanding the major cultural traditions of Alaska Natives, (2) understanding the different and competing histories of Native and non-Native contact and (3) the struggle of Alaska Natives and their organizations to protect land and related rights.

In this section, I should mention a word or two about the technology of audioconferencing. Effective teaching methods tied

to audioconferencing are still emerging and have yet to be systematically documented. Alaska has an extensive audioconferencing network which can be accessed by any telephone. Calls from remote sites can be joined so that students and instructor come together during scheduled calls sessions. To date Alaska has more instructional audioconferences per month than any other similar system in the world (Willis 1989).

Rural Alaska, Diversity and Opportunity

Interior Campus is a young campus which was created in 1988. It has steadily increased its range of courses and degree programs to village and rurally based students. Having said that, it is no secret that American Indians and Alaska Natives have not and do not participate in, nor have they or do they graduate from higher educational programs and four-year institutions at rates comparable to mainstream white students. As a case in point, only one Native Alaskan has ever received a doctoral degree from UAF (UAF: 1992).

It should be noted that research is beginning to link Native equity in participation and graduation with maintaining "continuity" with K-12 schools (Swisher et al; 1991, Swisher et al: 1992).

These studies indicate that the Native high school dropout rate is declining. Parental involvement, belief in the relevance of education, community-based curriculum, appropriate teaching styles, caring teachers and administrators, and holistic early intervention programs contribute to the decline in the rates at which Natives drop out of high school. Postsecondary institutions should consider undertaking parallel efforts, thereby cultivating some element of consistency in the Native student's educational experience (emphasis added, Pavel: 1992).

In my view distance education is both providing access to higher

education, and offering "consistency," as Swisher puts it, for Alaska Native students. Distance delivered courses reach those rural bound individuals most concerned with the well-being of village life and most interested in the expanding opportunities higher education promises. Native students and local teachers are two crucial groups of learners taking these courses.

A philosophical commitment to and financial support of distance education should be strengthened if educational equity is to be attained by those most marginalized by traditional learning institutions. Wedemeyer states the potential of distance education with the following:

Yet by any standard, non-traditional learners and their achievements constitute the equivalent of a great natural resource in America. As the kind and quality of education a person obtains for himself becomes more urgent, non-traditional learning more and more replaces, supplements, extends or builds upon learning acquired in traditional ways. This great but largely invisible national resource spreads and renews itself at little cost and great benefit to the nation. Even back doors to education, it appears, "once opened, cannot be shut" (1983: 129).

As an Alaska Native instructor having had the opportunity to teach a Native history course to students in rural Alaska, I could not agree more.

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UAF: Interior Campus HIST 110: History of Alaska Natives

Instructor: Mary Denise Thompson
Interior Campus, The Red Building
University of Alaska Fairbanks
FAX # (907)474-5208
Office: 1-800-478-5826 or direct 474-5827
Home: 456-2496
Office Hrs: 1-5pm Mon.-Thurs.

Course Description: History 110 is an introductory course designed to examine the following areas:

1. Major cultural traditions and environmental adaptations of Alaska Native groups.
2. Different histories of Native and non-Native contact, and relationships which developed during the two "colonial periods" of the Russian and the American invasions of Native Alaska, 1744-1867 and 1867-1971.
3. The struggle of Alaska Natives and their organizations to protect Native land rights and legal status in the new state of Alaska, 1959-1971.

This course draws from several disciplines. The readings vary; some are anthropological in their approach to the historical data, others are rooted in political economy. It is the instructor's intent to provide this interdisciplinary examination of Alaska Natives in order to raise a variety of important historical questions.

Course Text: Russian America: The Great Alaskan Venture 1741-1867. Chevigny, Hector. Binford and Mort Publishing (1965).

The Native People of Alaska. Langdon, Steve. Greatland Graphics (1987).

Alaska Native Languages: Past Present and Future. Krauss, Michael E. Alaska Native Language Center (Research Paper #4: 1980).

Peter John Minto: A Biography. Yarber, Yvonne and Curt Madison. Spirit Mountain Press (1988).

Yuuyaraq: The Way of the Human Being. Napoleon, Harold (with commentary and edited by Eric Madsen). Center for Cross-Cultural Studies (1991).

Course Reader: History of Alaska Natives, Spring Semester 1993, UAF--Interior Campus.

Course Requirements: Class participation by attending the audioconferences is required. There are three written 4-5 page assignments required, one map test and a final examination.

Grading and Evaluation: The final examination is worth 40% of your grade. The three written assignments, and the map test each count as 15% of your grade, totaling 60%. Class participation is important and will determine the difference in borderline cases (between awarding an 'A' or a 'B' for example). Also, drafts of written assignments, which are commented on by the instructor, will go toward extra credit in the course. Faxing a draft in is the best way to reach the instructor, but there should be enough time between assignments to use the mail system.

Course Outline: This class meets Tuesday evenings from 5:10 to 6:40 pm, for 15 consecutive weeks. The topics to be discussed are as follows:

January 19, 1993

Pre-session assignment: Read Krauss, the introduction and pps. 1-13. Outline your expectations related to taking this course. Be prepared to share your thoughts with the class.

Instructor and student introductions.

Topics: The origins of Alaska Natives: who were the "first Americans," or Paleo-Indians, and what do their migrations tell us? Archeological and linguistic theories. Diversity of Native Americans and Alaska Natives.

Assignments for next class meeting: Read all of Langdon, The Native People of Alaska pps. 1-79.

January 26, 1993

Topic: Alaska Native Cultural Traditions. Before the invasions of Native Alaska by Russian and American people and their institutions, what was Native life like? Can we construct cultural profiles or pictures of a "White-free" Native past?

Topic: Introduction to an "Alaska Native Historical Perspective." Raising the question of whether or not an "Alaska Native History" is different from "Alaska History."

Assignment for next class meeting: Read all of Peter John Minto. Read Burch (1981), and Fienup-Riordan (1987) both in the course reader if available. (If Burch and Fienup-Riordan are not in the reader, begin reading Chevigny's Russian America pps 3-62.) Select an Alaska Native individual or elder in your community, who would be willing to discuss memories, and traditional ways. Your first paper will be based on this informal exchange. What questions are you considering asking?

February 2, 1993

Topic: Native histories and doing Native histories. Discussion of oral history, biographies, life histories and some of the related methodological issues.

Topic: The Russian Period in Alaska Native History (1741-1867). Who were the Russians and why did they come to Alaska? Siberian expansion toward Alaska 1632-1740. Bitus Bering's American expeditions. Early contact years; Alets and others, 1744-1783.

Assignments for next class meeting: Write up your interview/paper using the following as your guiding questions: In what ways does the information gained in the interview reflect Native history? Please have it in by the next class meeting. You may fax in the paper. Read for next time: Krauss pps. 13-17 in your reader; Chevigny pps. 63-103; Dauenhauer and Fitzgerald both in your course reader.

February 9, 1993

1st Paper Due

Topic: The Russian Period in Alaska Native History, continued. Establishing colonial rule: trading corporations, and Tlingit resistance, 1784-1824. Why were the Tlingits much more successful than the Aleuts in resisting Russian colonial control?

Topic: Factors which worked to build a Russian-Alaskan colonial society. How the strength of the Yupik language today reflects contact history.

Assignment for next class meeting: Read Chevigny pps. 105-159; Krauss 18-52.

February 16, 1993

Topic: The American Period of Native History. The Inupiat and Yankee Whaling Fleets, 1850-1920 and the two stages of contact history. Environmental impact. Attungowruk/Atanauzaq. Cash economies.

Assignment for next class: Chevigny pps. 160-222.

February 23, 1993

Topic: Social change, the growing non-Native population, introduction to Sheldon Jackson and the legacy of racist attitudes and assimilative policies.

Assignments for next class meeting: Finish Chevigny pps. 223-263.

March 2, 1993

Topic: Patterns in Native History, settler and extractive colonialism. Three significant exceptions to the extractive pattern in Alaska.

Assignment for next class meeting: Read Napoleon Yuuyaraq: The Way of the Human Being pps. 1-22. Read Schneider pps. 147-167.

March 9, 1993

Topic: The Great Sickness of 1900. The impact of epidemic diseases in Native America, and in Native Alaska.

Assignment for next class meeting: Walk through your home community. Are there any visible historical markers of either contact, or of colonialism? For example, is there a church in your community, or Russian architecture or are there speakers of English? What are these markers of the past? Write a paper on how your new understanding of Native and non-Native contact history has furthered your understanding of your own community. Read Morehouse (1992) in course reader pps. 1-17. Schneider pps. 167-175.

March 16, 1993

2nd Paper Due.

Topic: Sheldon Jackson continued ... missionaries, education and reindeer: 1870's-1930's. Federal territorial jurisdictions. The seed of ambiguous and contradictory policies for Native Alaskans.

Assignment for next class meeting: Read in course reader Schneider pps. 175-186; Kleinfeld pps. 6-17.

March 23, 1993

Topic: The urbanization of Alaska--1940-1959. Changing demographics, the "tripartite system" in Alaska's schools and the consequences for Natives.

Do you have a high school in your home community? How long has it been there?

Assignment for next class meeting: Read Schneider pps. 186-196. Fienup-Riordan (1992) pps. 1-16.

March 30, 1993

Topic: Fundamentals of Federal Indian Law. Domestic dependency, the "special relationship" with the federal government, and Indian Country.

Topic: ANCSA, the political identity of Alaska Natives, political struggle and its eventual gain.

Assignment for next class meeting: Write a paper in which you define "Native identity." In your paper give an example of some of the historical forces which have affected Alaska Native identity. Morehouse (1987) pps 1-25.

April 6, 1993

3rd Paper Due.

Topic: A confused legal history for Alaska Native. Native organizations and the continuing issues of "self-government" and "sovereignty." Do you agree with Morehouse's claim that sovereignty is an outmoded concept?

Guest Speaker: Shirley Lee, Village Government Services, Tanana Chiefs Conference.

Assignments for next class meeting: In course reader, read Huskey (1992) pps. and Ellanna and Wheeler (1989).

April 13, 1993

Topic: Mixed village economics. The legacy of Western development, federal policies and an enduring Native reliance on subsistence. What have we learned from past economic policies?

Assignment for next class meeting: In course reader, read Yupiktak Bista "Does One Way of Life Have to Die So Another Can Live?" pps. 1-38. Kleinfeld pps. 2-6.

April 20, 1993

Map Test Due. Please use the honor system.

Topic: Understanding contemporary issues give the backdrop of Alaska Native history.

Guest Speaker: Oscar Kawagley. He is originally from Bethel, and a fluent Yupik speaker. He is currently a Professor of Education at UAF, and an EXCED Coordinator.

Assignment for next class meeting: Finish Yupiktak Bista p. 39 is missing, read pps. 40-80.

April 27, 1993

Topic: The course in review. Student comments and the instructor's review of important concepts and themes which will appear on the final exam.

Topic: Approaches to history and the growing importance of incorporating the perspectives of Alaska Natives in the discipline.

Assignment for your final: Finish readings: Do your best. Call the instructor and ask unanswered questions.

Teaching American Indian History in a "New Age"

by
Matthew Dennis
University of Oregon

"Am I talking to a tree?"

John Smith to Grandmother Willow, Disney's Pocahontas.

As teachers, some of us no doubt have asked ourselves a similar question when confronted with unresponsive students. But what alarms and then captivates the swashbuckling Smith in Disney's delightful and troubling animated film, Pocahontas, is not Grandmother Willow's lack of response (her "woodenness"¹) but, rather, her animation, her expressiveness, her engagement. What increasingly troubles me in my classroom--filled with the enchantingly grungy, tied-dyed, goateed, body pierced middle class youth of the Pacific Northwest--is that so many of my students can so easily imagine talking to a tree.

In the pastiche of our postmodern world, in which we seem to possess a near infinite array of options--which "traditional" cuisine should we eat? what costume should we affect today? where on the globe should we go (via satellite or the internet)? who should we be?--students often grope to find out who they are. Life for them is highly volatile as they search for the meaning of life and try to construct credible selves. Identity crises or quests for meaning among college students are hardly new, but the smorgasbord of life-styles and ideas that confronts them today produces new kinds of indigestion, especially because, in fact, not all identities or ways of living in the world are actually available to them. One of my greatest challenges in teaching North American Indian history to eager, non-Native American

students, then, is to help them discover--and respect--who they are not, who they cannot be.

My recent experience in June 1995 at the "Indian Voices in the Academy" seminar, "Teaching and Writing Local History," at Navajo Community College, Tsaile, Arizona, was provocative and enriching in a number of ways. Besides learning from Navajo and non-Navajo scholars (as well as from an extraordinary group of seminar participants) a good deal about Diné history, philosophy, world view, and politics, and the experience of being on the Navajo reservation within the landscape enclosed by their four sacred mountains and watching the sun rise, climb high into the sky, set, and then give way to night, helped me to imagine the connection between these people and their place. For me, landscape--as natural and cultural space which shapes people as they mold it in culturally specific ways--is crucial to the identity and experience of peoples; it is a critical basis and expression of local history. Nowhere was this more visceral than when we entered Canyon de Chelly and Canyon del Muerto; the rock walls talked to us graphically through their petroglyphs, pictographs, and ruins, but so did the mature cottonwoods and Russian olives and purple-tipped tamarisks choking the riparian zone now after being introduced by the Civilian Conservation Corp in the 1930s. Most of all, the occupied hogans, running children, cultivated fields, and diminished numbers of sheep and horses, as well as the ubiquitous jewelry vendors, showed the canyons to be living landscapes, not merely fossilized preserves but places of stories that are still being written.

The seminar also furthered my appreciation of the complexity

of negotiating identity and "tradition" among contemporary Native American people--as "Indians," as members of nations, tribes, or bands, and as "Americans"--even when, like the Navajos, they possess the advantages of a large ethnic population, a living language, a tribal college, and a relatively extensive and secure land base. What is "traditional"? Is there a single Navajo way of being and living? Must one speak Navajo and live on the reservation? These and other difficult questions are negotiated implicitly as different Navajo people attend to their lives and the lives of their families, clans, and the nation.

But most importantly, the seminar heightened my sense that studying local histories was as valuable for outsiders as insiders (though our perspectives vary), that we understand who we are by learning from those who live and think differently, and that, while some common ground is important, differences among us can and should coexist respectfully. At NCC we heard a great deal about the Diné Educational Philosophy and how it was being developed and employed as an indigenous pedagogy to teach Navajo students about the world and to cultivate in them a sense of how to live as Navajo, both on the reservation and beyond it. How was the heroic work of these Diné educators relevant to me, I had wondered initially, as a non-Navajo person teaching virtually no Navajo students? But the point, of course, was not for those of us attending the seminar who were outsiders to become Navajos; rather, it was to become better, more informed and sensitive, **outsiders** and, as unmelttable outsiders, to find better, more informed and accountable ways of teaching and writing the local histories of Indian peoples. For my New Age, Indian-wannabe

students, this is a much needed lesson, but one that needs to be taught gently.

Ironically, too many of my students too easily identify with Indians (at least as they idealize them); the danger is that students invent new Noble Savages rather than encounter real Indians on their own terms. Identification and empathy are noble, but they are fleeting, or even counter-productive, when based on limited or randomly assembled information about native peoples. There is a certain unacknowledged arrogance inherent in the assumption that one can quickly understand native world views and experience or that such knowledge should be immediately available for appropriation. And there is arrogance and condescension in students' simplistic understanding of Indians as mere victims. Besides denying Indians their agency, those mindlessly (rather than rigorously) sympathetic to "the Indian's plight" too easily distance themselves from the actions and attitudes of white settlers, soldiers, philanthropists, or policymakers by means of an unearned moral superiority. They would never have done, they believe, what their "ignorant," "racist" ancestors did to Native Americans. Maybe not. But students' unwillingness to (or lack of awareness that they need to) imagine other items and circumstances enfeebls their moral critique and allows them to avoid the difficult task of confronting the on-going implications of their own society's (and their individual) attitudes toward contemporary native people.

In a sense, students unintentionally endorse the sort of fantasy in the film Pocahontas that John Smith could--through the power of love--effect an easy and complete transformation, that

Smith could experience a multicultural enlightenment completely at odds with his historical era. Could the English and Powhatans really resolve their problems as easily as in the feature-length cartoon? Surprisingly, at the end of Pocahontas, the English apparently abandon Jamestown, leaving the continent to its indigenous inhabitants (my students would prefer that the English simply become Powhatans and live happily ever after). This cultural metamorphosis among the colonists apparently required only the timely intercession of Smith and Pocahontas and the deposing of the evil governor, Ratcliffe (the one rotten apple that was spoiling the bunch). Pocahontas is not particularly subtle in its revival and reworking of the Noble Savage motif. Students can see through this easily enough, but they need to confront their own appropriation of Indians, their own construction of Otherness, which they embrace as counter-cultural icon. And they need to understand the weight of historical and material circumstances on events in the past and in our own world.

It is easy to ridicule the naivete of these cafe-latte drinking, latter-day shamans or fellow travelers. But it makes more sense to recognize that the same openness, interest, curiosity, sense of wonder, and quest for meaning that led such students to explore their New Age options--and to take our classes--might also lead them to think about the history and current circumstances of American Indians in ways that are more complex, sophisticated, and sensitive. After all, how many of us, as non-Indian scholars and teachers, first kindled an interest in American Indian histories and cultures by reading

Francis Parkman or James Fenimore Cooper, The American Indian Hobbyist or Black Elk Speaks, Dee Brown or maybe even Carlos Casteneda? Noble Savagism is usually well-intentioned, and though it has its abundantly documented liabilities it does provide a place to begin (at least more so than its opposite trope, Indian-hating).

Instructors in Indian history can work with these illusions and delusions. Students can be challenged to imagine other times and places in all their contingencies, in the standard ways-- e.g., assigned readings and papers--as well as through role-playing exercises, as in stage debates over controversial Indian policies. Especially important, it seems to me, is making students adopt roles they find particularly foreign. By forcing temporary identification with "bad guys" as well as "good guys," students are pushed to examine positions and actions they consider unjust and to contemplate why such positions and policies were nonetheless decisive or popular at certain historical moments. The strange can thus become more familiar while nonetheless retaining, from a contemporary perspective, its alien quality. And in the process perhaps the all-too-comfortable positions of students (as self-conscious good guys) become for them more strange, problematic and in need of rethinking.

Real engagement with the diverse and sometimes troubling histories of others can provide students some perspective on their own quests by displaying both the possibilities and failures of humanity in general and American society in particular. Students can be asked to probe questions with

deceptively easy or obvious answers: Were American Indians "ecologists?" Were American reformers and philanthropists hypocrites? Did white Americans really believe in popular sovereignty? Was/is "traditional" Indian religion compatible with Christianity? Are mainstream environmentalists and Indians natural allies? Who is an American Indian and what makes him [sic] one? What is/was the position of women in Indian societies, and do Indian societies provide suitable models for feminists? and so fourth.

To illustrate briefly, let me sketch one exercise that I have found effective in Oregon (there may well be particular regional variation in what works for different student populations). Using newspaper or other periodical articles in the context of other assigned readings, juxtapose discussion of American Indian treaty rights and natural resource issues, on the one hand, with consideration of the mainstream (and fringe) environmental movement, on the other. Because most students understand themselves to be sympathetic to each, they are often surprised to see that the two can be at odds, or that the latter can be misguided with regard to the former, as with the recent, controversial efforts for the Makahs of Neah Bay, at the extreme northwestern tip of the Olympic peninsula, to reenter the whale fishery.² Facing problems common to many reservations, Makahs see resumption of ceremonial and subsistence whale hunting as essential to the conservation of their traditions, especially among their young people. Makahs have not hunted whales since 1926, but their right to do so is guaranteed by an 1855 treaty. Nonetheless, the Makahs' plans challenge the international ban on

the hunting of gray whales as well as the efforts of groups like the Sea Shepherd Conservation Society of Marina del Rey, California, which has vowed to interpose its ninety-five foot submarine between Makahs and whales. Students must consider the implications of "saving the whales" and "saving" Indians. Of course, the two goals are not mutually exclusive, but students might benefit from pondering who should do the saving, for whom, on whose behalf, and to what end. In such exercises, students can begin to see the contradictions and complications in their own thinking, and perhaps they can become aware of the larger complexities characteristic of human life in general.

By stressing history as a rigorous act of imagination while acknowledging the impossibility of truly transcending differences of time and experience, perhaps students can develop a more complex view of the world and learn to accept that some things cannot be known fully, that some knowledge is private, privileged, and embedded in contexts and identities not available to everyone. That things are not as they appear in a Disney movie should not be a difficult lesson for students to learn.

Endnotes

1. "Wooden" connotes "lacking in ease, grace, charm, liveliness, lifelikeness, interest, or zest;" synonyms include "awkward, clumsy, dry, lifeless, dull," and "spiritless, stupid" (see Webster's Third International New Dictionary, 1986 ed., and Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary, 2d ed. (1949), s.v. "wooden"). Disney's Grandmother Willow contrasts sharply with such characterizations; she and other indigenous characters in the film are fully alive and not mere "wooden Indians," in the colloquial sense of persons "without animation or change of expression" (see New Collegiate Dictionary, s.v., "wooden Indian"). While seeming to take the animate nature of the Powhatans (and other Indian people's) world seriously, however, the film does not resolve the question of whether Indian and English cosmologies are in fact compatible.
2. See, for example, Timothy Egan, "A Tribe Sees Hope in Whale Hunting, But U.S. is Worried," New York Times, June 4, 1995, sec A, 1: 1.

History 469: American Indian and American History
University of Oregon

Fall 1995

M, W, F, 8:00-8:50, 101 GIL

Matthew Dennis

220 PLC, 3460-4814; mjdennis@darkwing.uoregon.edu

Office Hours: 11:00-11:50 M, W, F

This advanced survey of the vast and complex field of American Indian history is designed to provide a general sense of the diversity of Native North America, the nature of Indian lives and modes of thought historically, the impact and negotiation of European and American colonialism, and the complex responses of Native peoples to continual physical and cultural assaults on their societies. Challenging numerous myths, this course seeks to assess Native Americans on their own terms as well as to examine their roles in both early and recent American history. There is no prerequisite, but students without some background in American history may be at a disadvantage.

Course Requirements:

Consistent attendance, engagement in class discussion, and completion of all reading assignments is expected of all students. Typically, class sessions on Mondays and Wednesdays will be devoted to lectures (integrated with discussion), while Fridays will be set aside especially for discussion, which is a crucial element of the course. Graduate students enrolled in Hst 569 have separate requirements and should consult with the instructor. Students will be evaluated based on the following: a short paper, due in week 3 (30%), a midterm examination (30%), a final examination (30%), and performance in class discussions and on weekly assignments or quizzes (10%). The paper assignment will be described separately; for now students should note that late papers will not be accepted. Please plan your schedule in a way that allows you to meet all deadlines. In addition, those students unable to take the final at the regularly scheduled time should not take this course.

Required Reading:

Albert L. Hurtado and Peter Iverson, (eds.). Major Problems in American Indian History: Documents and Essays. (Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath, 1994).

Richard White. The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815. (Cambridge, Eng. and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

James Welch. Fools Crow. (New York: Bantam, [1986]).

Louise Erdrich. Love Medicine. (New York: Bantam, [1984]).

**In addition, some short reading assignments will be on reserve in Knight Library. These readings are designated with an "R."

Class and Reading Schedule:

Week 1: Introduction: Myths, Images, Stereotypes.
September 26-29:

What's in a name? Indians discover Columbus; skeletons in America's closet; mountains (mounds) into molehills; "Vanishing Americans" refuse to disappear.

Reading: Major Problems, preface, ch. 1; Roberto Suro, "Quiet Effort to Regain Idols May Alter Views of Indian Art," New York Times, Aug. 13, 1990 sec. A, 1: 1; Douglas J. Preston, "Skeletons In Our Museums' Closets," Harper's Magazines, Feb. 1989 [R]; "Cleveland Indian Nickname Honors a Forgotten Baseball Hero," letters to the New York Times, 24 November 1991 [R].

Week 2: Old Worlds and New: "Discovery," "Invasion," "Encounter." October 2-6:

"Discovery" and Invention of American Indians
Encounters and the Creation of New Worlds Roanoak, episode II (film).

Reading: Major Problems, chs. 2-3; Axtell, "Imagining the Other: First Encounters in North America," in Axtell, Beyond 1492: Encounters in Colonial North America (New York, 1992), 25-74 [R]; Christopher L. Miller and George R. Hamell, "A New Perspective on Indian-White Contact: Cultural Symbols and Colonial Trade," Journal of American History, vol. 73, no 10 (September 1986), 311-28 [R].

Week 3: European and Indian New Worlds.
October 9-13:

Invasion Within: Indians and Missionaries "American Holocaust"?
Surviving Columbus (film on Pueblos).

Reading: Major Problems, ch. 4; Axtell, "Native Reactions to the Invasion of America," in Beyond 1492, 94-121 [R]; Alfred W. Crosby, "Conquistador y Pestilencia" in The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492 (Westport, Conn., 1972), 35-63 [R]; Jesuit Relation for 1643-44 [R]; White, Middle Ground, ix-xvi, 1-49.

***Paper Due, in Class October 13 [late papers not accepted]

Week 4: Colonial Conflict, Accommodation, Resistance.
October 16-20:

Interdependency, Dependency, and Middle Grounds
Colonialism and Gender.

Reading: White, 50-222.

Week 5: Indians and the American Republic.
October 23-27:

Indians and the Revolutionary Settlement.
Indians, the Law, and the New Nation.

Reading: Major Problems, ch. 5; White, 223-412.

***Midterm Examination, Monday, October 30.

Week 6: Early National Expansion, Reform, Indian Resistance.
October 30-November 3:

Civilization, Christianization, and the "Benevolent
Empire."
American Culture and the Representation of Indians as
"Savages," Noble and Ignoble.

Reading: Major Problems, ch. 6; White, 413-523; Philip
Freneau, The Indian Burying Ground (1788) [R]. Theda
Perdue, "Domesticating the Natives: Southern Indians and the
Cult of True Womanhood," in Nancy A. Hewitt, ed., Women,
Families, and Communities: Readings in American History. 2
vols. (Glenview, Ill., 1990), I, 159-69 [R].

Week 7: Westward "Destiny" Made Manifest.
November 6-10:

How the West Was Won.
How the West Was Lost.

Reading: Major Problems, chs. 7, 9; begin reading Welch,
Fools Crow.

Week 8: Native American Nadir and Revitalization.
November 13-17:

From Sand Creek to Wounded Knee.
With Good Intentions and Bad: Reform, Allotment,
Assimilation.
In the White Man's Image [film].

Reading: finish reading Welch, Fools Crow; Major Problems,
ch. 10.

Week 9: Modern America and Native America.
November 20-24:

Old and "New Deal[s]."
Postwar Assimilationism and Self-Determination.

Reading: Major Problems, chs. 11 (434-41), 12, 13; begin reading Erdrich, Love Medicine.

***Thanksgiving Holiday, November 23-24.

Week 10: Modern America and Native America.
November 27-December 1:

Contemporary Native American Politics, Civil Rights,
and Religious Freedom.
Native Rights, Natural Resources, and Environmental
Politics.
Clouded Land [film].

Reading: Erdrich, Love Medicine; Major Problems, ch. 14;
Sharon O'Brien, "A History of the American Indian Religious
Freedom Act," Indian Affairs, no. 116 (summer 1988), ii-xii
[R]; Peter T. Kilborn, "Sad Distinction for the Sioux:
Homeland is No. 1 in Poverty," New York Times, Sept. 2, 1992
[R]; Jim Oberly, "Spearing Fish, Playing Chicken," The
Nation, June 19, 1989, 844-48 [R]; Robert Reinhold, "Indians
and Neighbors are at Odds Over Proposed Dump," New York
Times, Jan. 8, 1990 [R]; Timothy Egan, "A Tribe Sees Hope in
Whale Hunting, But U.S. is Worried," New York Times, June 4,
1995, sec. A, 1: 1 [R].

***Final Examination: Monday, December 4, 10:15 am.

Application of "SNBH" in Anthro 312 at SIUE?

by
Charlotte J. Frisbie
University of Illinois at Edwardsville

The opportunity to participate in the Newberry Library seminar on Navajo local history in June, 1995 was personally stimulating, invigorating, and challenging. Surrounded by a beautiful landscape, we all had chances to make new friends, visit again with old ones, experience living in an NCC dorm, reconnect with nature, become familiar with NCC's resources, and do a lot of talking and learning about Navajo culture and history. We also had opportunities to talk as teachers, and thus shared ideas about courses, useful resources, approaches to interactive learning, and specific classroom challenges and problems. The mix of voices, genders, racial/ethnic heritages, employment settings, and disciplinary perspectives among participants expanded the discussions and enriched the entire experience.

The seminar was designed to expose participants to the Navajo Philosophy of Education, presented during the week by reference to the acronym SNBH which stands for Sa'ah naaghaii bik'eh hozho, a sacred phrase in Navajo which expresses the Navajo philosophy of life. The Navajo faculty explicated the living philosophy from a variety of perspectives and discussed on-going efforts to implement it in instructional settings at Navajo Community College. While I was perhaps already grounded in a level one understanding of this philosophy because of on-going research work and opportunities to learn about it at Navajo

Studies Conference and through publications in the Journal of Navajo Education, Dine Be iina', and elsewhere, I learned an enormous amount during the week in Tsaile.

At the end of the seminar, we were challenged to create a paper that addressed, in some way, what was useful to us about the whole event. For a person like me, who is a non-Native American anthropologist teaching in a non-tribal college setting, the question has stayed with me, being pondered over and over, and not just on the plane back to St. Louis airport. On the surface, one could perhaps argue that I brought home nothing that could be applied in my teaching context beyond new ideas for resources and classroom challenges, and an expanded professional network of friends with whom to talk in the future. However, as a researcher and student of Navajo culture, I know better.

Thus I have decided to use my space in this volume to address the question of the applicability, from my perspective, of SNBH in a state university in southern Illinois and in particular, in a course I will again teach in the Fall, "Anthro 312, Contemporary American Indians." My comments are presented in the reflexive mode; when I began drafting my ideas, after thinking about them for a long time, reviewing my notes from Tsaile numerous times, and trying to talk about them, I had no idea where they would lead, but I wanted to find out. I am presenting my thoughts as they exist at the time of this rewrite, August 10th. Since classes begin August 21st, in the next few days I need to move out of the first and second steps (waking up/starting to think about, and planning/identifying the means) into finishing the decision making and bringing to life, by

finalizing a syllabus which includes statements of goals and objectives. The fourth stage, evaluation, is an on-going process with me during the semester, as I stay alert to what is working, and what needs further thought and readjustment; it officially ends with the course/instructor evaluation procedures for students on the last day of class, and my own, voluntary, reflexive evaluation of the experience of teaching the course "this time."

The SIUE Context

Before continuing, some background on the context within which I teach, advise, and currently, again, do administration is appropriate. Southern Illinois University at Edwardsville, a school with an enrollment of about 11,000 students, is a "sister campus" to SIUC or SIU at Carbondale, which is about 100 miles due south. Established in 1957, our campus, because of location, serves the Metro-East area which by definition includes Madison, St. Clair, and other nearby Illinois counties, and the greater St. Louis area in Missouri. Most of our students live and work within a 60-mile radius of campus, and thus, commute, although there are places for about 2000 students in on-campus apartments and also in a campus residence hall which opened in the fall of 1994. Of the total student body, about 8400 are undergraduates; the rest are pursuing graduate degrees either in one of the professional schools (Business, Nursing, Education, Engineering, Dental Medicine) or in some other selected discipline (English, Geography, History, Sociology, Economics, Environmental Studies, Mass Communications, Speech, Physics, Math, Biology, Chemistry,

Art, and Art Therapy.) Of the total student body, 72% are full-time students and 56% are female; about one-third are over 25 years of age, and about one-fourth are transfer students. Although the university is just now getting involved in "distance education," it has long sponsored a wide variety of non-credit activities to meet continuing education needs of area residents. In addition to Elderhostel, continuing professional education courses in Accounting and Real Estate, and other arrangements, SIUE also has an Educard program which enables people, usually older, to have access to selected classes for modest fees, no credit, and no transcript records.

The student body is also diverse in terms of race/ethnicity. In 1994, the latest published university fact booklet showed 0.4% component of "American Indian/Alaskan Native" in its student population statistics analyzed by race/ethnicity. Other components included 2.2% "Non-resident Alien," 12.6% "Black Non-Hispanic," 1.6% "Asian/Pacific Islander," 1.2% "Hispanic," and 82.1% "White Non-Hispanic." Of the 2303 employees in 1994 in all categories, there were no American Indian/Alaskan Natives, despite employee representation from all of the other groups.

Although at one time SIUE offered an American Studies program, it no longer does. And, needless to say, the university offers no American Indian Studies program, department, major or minor, and there are few curriculum offerings, beyond those housed in anthropology, which delve into Native American issues. One colleague in history is now incorporating Indian Voices into several of her American History classes; before their retirements, two colleagues (English and Philosophy) team-taught

an American Indian literature class; and at least one of the Art History classes examines indigenous art and architecture of the Americas. In the School of Education, there are no state mandates to train and/or license students to teach Native American studies, perhaps because of demographics and the fact that Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and Missouri are in the part of the Midwest where there are no reservations. Education students do have multicultural or non-western culture requirements for certification, but according to the State of Illinois, our department's two courses on Native Americans are not on the list of those that "count."

Given the above, the contrasts between NCC and SIUE should be apparent. I am obviously in a western education setting, fragmented by western categories and linear ways of thinking. While SIUE has a well-developed mission and goals statement, its goals are not grounded in SNBH, or any other holistic, living philosophy. The institution does recognize the need to enhance the self-esteem of some students, especially those classified as deficient in college level skills, and addresses it in separate courses which carry no credit toward graduation. The university also values lifelong learning, the need for self-discipline, understanding of the importance and complexity of knowledge, and the critical thinking skills needed to evaluate conflicting data; these, among other things, are taught in many classrooms as implicate, if not explicit, values. And, of course, most recently, SIUE and many other universities have added the value of fostering appreciation for multiculturalism, cultural pluralism, or as it is currently termed, cultural diversity. On

our campus, the paper plans for how to get this done are just now unfolding, even though my department and many colleagues in other disciplines have been discussing how to combat stereotyping, racism, and prejudices both on and off campus for years.

While there are obviously some similarities between these values and **SNBH**, they are essentially surface-level. At SIUE there is no institutional attention given to living life both in independence and interdependence with everything and everyone else in nature, living life as a path in the natural order of cycles and rejuvenations, living in harmony and balance, being positive, careful, appreciative, thankful, generous, kind, respectful, humorous, attentive, and thoughtful--i.e., living **SNBH**. There is no commitment to holistic fostering of the mental, physical, spiritual, social, and emotional aspects of humans, be they students, faculty, staff, or top administrators, because there is no understanding of such a philosophy. Instead, we count bodies, student credit hours and worry about graduation rates. We perpetuate specialization, competition, management skills, and the like so students can emerge and "get ahead" materialistically. While the preferred approach to advancement is "hard work," the campus, like other bureaucratic institutions in the U.S., also illustrates alternative methods that may be "equally successful," including those which involve taking, grabbing, stepping on others, being selfish and devious, and those grounded in individual laziness and apathy.

Given the above, why even bother pondering the potential usefulness of **SNBH** in an SIUE context? Obviously, in addition to different geographies, student constituencies, cultures,

philosophies, worldviews, goals, and so forth, at the level of the particular, to try and teach anything about Native Americans here is a challenge. There are no nearby reservations, and thus, there is a dearth of opportunities for students to hear directly from those living Native American experiences, either in class through guest presentation or panel discussions, or outside the classroom. There is no money for field trips and there are no opportunities to interview elders in reservation communities, do volunteer or service work in language renewal programs, health clinics, or other areas defined by communities as of benefit to them, collect women's histories and experiences, boarding school experience, community histories, or whatever. So, why bother?

Since I started teaching at SIUE in 1970 and have chosen to stay, despite distance and other difficulties in regularly addressing my own research commitments, there must be some positive things to be said. Reflecting on them now suggests they included the central Midwestern location of Edwardsville, Metro-East resources, community and campus resources and potentials, and the department within which I work. To turn to the first of these, Edwardsville is connected to major interstates, i.e. I55, 70, 270, which also put I64, 40 and 44 within easy access. Thus, it is feasible to consider doing something in Chicago, Indianapolis, Peoria, or Urbana-Champaign with students, or even heading south to KY, TN, or VA if a weekend is available. Within the Metro-East area, St. Louis has several urban Indian centers, a number of other universities, and an excellent art museum (in addition to the Arch, an international airport, a great zoo, world famous botanical garden, and etc.). Cahokia Mounds

Historic Site and Interpretive Center is an even shorter drive from campus. All of these places sponsor a wide variety of programs, workshops, film festivals, speakers, lecture demonstrations, concerts, exhibits, Heritage Days, powwows, and so forth, and if one, as a teacher and community resident, pays attention and stays involved, there are many ways of incorporating such things into classes at SIUE. There are also many opportunities for student involvement through volunteer work, should they be so motivated.

Narrowing the focus to our campus and surrounding community, SIUE's Arts and Issues series sometimes features Native American musicians and dancers. The nondenominational Religious Center actively supports panels on controversial subjects, including Native American issues, and helps bring in appropriate participants. In terms of campus student groups, in the early 1970s some anthropology majors with American Indian heritage established a club called TRIBE, complete with constitution and university approval. With their graduation, it became defunct until about five years ago when another group of interested students resurrected it. Thus, at present, TRIBE offers a place for those interested in Indian issues to converge; since 1991 it has had university support to sponsor an annual Fall powwow and "Indian Awareness Week" activities. The campus also has an active chapter of AISES and during the past year, for some activities, AISES and TRIBE joined forces with the Anthropology Department's Lambda Alpha chapter (Collegiate Honors Society in Anthropology) and Anthropology Club to expand sponsorship and thus, events.

The communities which surround the university often participate in the powwow and related activities, with public school teachers bringing their classes to flute concerts, lecture demonstrations, and other "Indian Awareness" activities. Some of our faculty also spend time in the public schools, helping with units on Native Americans, specific time periods in history, and specific issues. We also respond to requests to do new things, such as develop workshops on how to incorporate Native American voices into English and other curricula K-12. I also continue to do various educational programs on Indian issues, specific tribes, and particular areas for youth groups, churches, and so forth. So, at least from my perspective, the local and regional communities are interested and supportive.

When I first came to SIUE in 1970, I joined an Anthropology department which had seven faculty. The university was on a 10-week quarter system calendar, and the department offered both B.A. and B.S. undergraduate degrees. Included in the Anthropology curriculum, and also counting for General Education credit, was one American Indian class, a basic survey of Indians in the United States organized by culture area and taught in the ethnographic present. The teaching of this class (Anthro 305), which was in our People of the World series, was rotated among Drs. Fred Voget, Ernest Schusky, and me. Voget also occasionally offered Indians of the Plains, a class he had developed and which, now that both he and schusky have retired, is no longer part of our curriculum. Both colleagues had built appropriate library and audiovisual resources for Anthro 305 before I arrived, and I joined them in constantly monitoring acquisition

of supportive materials. The campus library was already a depository for U.S. Federal and Illinois State documents, and thus, other kinds of materials were readily at hand.

Given the importance of current issues, the range of resources available, individual research interests, and the impossibilities of covering both an ethnographic present survey and contemporary issues in a 10-week quarter course, after extended discussion the department approved my request to develop a contemporary Native American course. Once it was approved (1985), Indians of North America (Anthro 305) was redefined in focus so that the prehistory and archaeology parts would be handled in North American Archaeology (Anthro 330), and current issues and problems in Anthro 312. I started teaching Anthro 312 in 1987, and have taught it four times since then, given our curriculum rotation, revised teaching schedules because of administrative duties, and one research leave. Others taught Anthro 305 by choice, although sometimes contributed to a session or two of Anthro 312. Thus, 12 years lapsed before I taught Anthro 305 again, last summer, and now it's been two years since I've taught 312. When I start teaching it again, in August, 1995, I will be doing so for the first time on the semester system, which was implemented over a year ago on our campus. (That was followed by hiring a new president, and this July, by shifting 18 departments out of the "School of Social Sciences, etc." model into a College of Arts and Sciences. Yes, transformations continue to be on-going, with all the associated excitement, hopes, concerns, and challenges!)

Anthro 312: Description and Evolution

The catalog description of the course, bounded by word limit and other format rules, is as follows: "Anth 312-3 CONTEMPORARY AMERICAN INDIANS. Contemporary American Indians as minority groups; their unique position in the United States; economic, political, legal, religious, and other problems they face today." The course, an undergraduate, non-seminar class with no prerequisites, has an enrollment limit of 42, and usually carries its maximum, at least initially. The class is among those in our department which are approved for both Advanced Social Science and Intergroup Relations credits within the university's current General Education system. Thus it serves a variety of students, including majors, minors, and those who have no background in either anthropology or Native American studies beyond whatever "understandings" they have developed from whatever sources by the time they enter the class.

My original intent when designing the course was not to teach research methods or focus on a single case study of a well-documented nation within the Midwest. Instead, the goals were to increase student understanding of Native American diversity, their special rights within the United States, the intersection of tribal, state, and federal perspectives and laws that provide the context for living in today's America, and the historical flip-flop of federal Indian policy which continues today. The approach was lecture format supported by a few films, and the only student project was a critical review of one of the options I ordered for purchase from the bookstore. I chose the current issues and presented them from as many perspectives as possible.

Anthro 312 has changed over the years for a number of reasons. Among them are national movements toward interactive learning models of education, SIUE's commitment to them, and my own personal interests in fostering more active learning environments and more equitable classrooms. Other revisions have come about because of changing issues and expanding local resources. The library added two journals, American Indian Culture and Research Journal and American Indian Quarterly. I expanded my own resources by personal subscriptions to NARF Legal Review and a variety of tribal newspapers, and refocused my own book buying to target contemporary Native American publications (authored by diverse individuals); now I take these resources to work and share them with students. I also developed a network of individuals who keep me abreast of "Indian news" elsewhere by sending articles from non-tribal newspapers around the country. These have allowed me to use the media's diverse coverage of Native American issues in both classroom bulletin boards and discussions, and to get students involved in paying attention to such coverage and thinking critically about it. The department developed an Anthropology Teaching Museum to support our programs and we all use it in a variety of ways. Access to holdings in the University Museum has also improved, as has interest in exhibits there which focus on indigenous peoples. Over the years, both the library and the department expanded cartographic and audiovisual support as new maps and video technology became accessible. And, at present, we are getting educated about Internet, which will undoubtedly stimulate other kinds of revisions in the near future.

The transformations in Anthro 312 have also been supported by the reestablishment of TRIBE on campus and the efforts and energies of individual students. They developed leadership capabilities, became committed to having Native Americans represented appropriately in university programming and in University Museum exhibits, and they became involved in the urban Indian community. Developments at Cahokia and the opening of its new interpretive center have also been supportive; their programming has expanded, as have opportunities for volunteers. At present, our department and Cahokia continue collaborative museum and teaching efforts initiated in response to "Columbus" events in 1992.

Today Anthro 312 can be taught with a variety of enriching resources: ethnographic, historical, autobiographical, federal documents and treaties, maps, tribal publications, some oral histories, audiovisual, literature, traditional and contemporary arts, and material culture (from department, university, and regional museums). I count on the diversity of resources, the ability to bring Native American voices into the classroom at least through videos and written works authored by Indians, and the regional opportunities for direct involvement. Yes, the course still includes some lectures and some nonnegotiable requirements, such as attendance, reading assignments, tests, and a required critique of an "Indian authored" book that deals in some way with current Native American experiences. However, now students also work in small discussion groups, take responsibility for different parts of the course, and near the end present the results on their semester-long group research

projects on current issues. I continue to prepare the master list of issues from which they choose, not because of being interested in having power, but because I know what resources are accessible and have at least some understanding of what kinds of research can be done from here, both on and off campus. Some of the master list issues in the past have been AIRFA, NAGPRA, Missouri and Illinois response to NAGPRA, Leonard Peltier, Big Mountain, U of I Mascot, Dickson Mounds, Dances with Wolves, Boldt decision, toxic waste dumping on reservations, enforced relocation, and a variety of land and water rights cases. This year's list of choices will at least include Alaskan Tribal sovereignty, Catawba and South Carolina land claim decision, Mescalero toxic waste developments, Miami Tribe in Indiana, updates on AIRFA, Dickson Mounds and Leonard Peltier, gambling, fishing rights issues in WI, departmental responses to NAGPRA, and perhaps, Pocahontas!

Thoughts on Expanding Goals and Addressing Problems

Since I will again teach Anthro 312 this fall, I have been working on it, off and on, this summer while teaching other things. These activities have included updating teaching files on specific issues, creating new files, reviewing all relevant journals since 1992 in a search for outside reading materials to put on reserve, and previewing all of the relevant videos the department has purchased since 1992 with support from internal grants to decide which ones to incorporate and when. In addition, as all teachers know, the search for books, buying, reading and evaluating them, goes on for all courses constantly,

as do discussions with colleagues.

Although the 1995 syllabus is not yet constructed, I already know that I will expand the goals cited above for Anthro 312 in response to further reflections on my 1993 experiences, watching events in this part of the country and elsewhere, and discussions with colleagues, both new and old. The new goals will include direct work on, and hopefully reduction of, stereotypes, prejudices, and racism as issues that muddle understandings of Native Americans; reduction of "the intimidation of the library"; reduction of hatred of history; increase in understanding and appreciating the diversity of voices, sources, data, and perspectives; and finally, hopefully an increase in direct student involvement in related activities in the Metro-East area.

In terms of organization, I intend to keep the course grounded in legal history because I believe that without understanding it there's no way to understand contemporary problems and issues. I intend to address stereotypes first and then "the basics" of identity, membership, rights, diversity in locations, life styles, and languages. Before shifting into an examination of selected current issues which illustrate diversity in political arrangements, religious beliefs, economic options, creative expressions, and so forth, I will continue to teach ethnicity, self-determination, nationalism, and sovereignty, and to illustrate some of the dominant society's current games with the principle of cooptation and on-going examples of appropriation and exploitation.

At present I predict that major classroom challenges will come from three problems areas, the first of which is racist

stereotypes. Students enter the class with an accumulation of misinformation, preconceptions, and stereotypes, both negative and romantic. These need to be elicited, examined, and challenged in ways that are effective but not interpreted as attacks on self-worth. Work on such issues is challenging, even when done with support from diverse resources and through small group discussions in settings that eventually become supportive and mutually respectful. Reduction of racism takes time, persistence, and patience; initiating the process sometimes leads to direct student hostility, hardly the best way to start a semester.

Another problem is student indifference. Some students take the class only because it fulfills the Intergroup Relations General Education requirements. They expect it to mesh with their preconceptions and background misinformation, and they expect it to involve no work. They are hostile about revisiting American historical periods through different lenses, they deny the relevance of the past for the present and complain about "having to know this dead stuff." And they get particularly infuriated when their naive assumptions about the benevolence of federal policies are challenged by voices and materials that call attention to the illogical flip-flops in federal Indian policy, the dichotomy between Public Laws and implementation of them at agency, state or national levels, failures of the Supreme Court to uphold constitutional rights when it comes to Native Americans, and other such issues. Once infuriated, some then decide I am "too biased," and "too Pro Indian" while also escalating their complaints about having to work and take the

course seriously. And yes, a few always drop after more bitching about the teacher. That, of course, is one of their options.

The last problem I will mention here comes from the Wannabe students who I know will at least initially be in the class, given the surge of New Age Movement activities in the Metro-East area in recent years. It was helpful to discuss this with some other teachers during the week at Tsaile, especially those who, like me, are not teaching many Native American students, or working in Tribal Colleges, or even located near reservations. The message to be taught is that heritages are not for sale, cannot be purchased on blue-light special at K-Mart. Native American tribes decide membership, not outside yearners. You cannot just sign up to be Indian when it suits your fancy. You cannot make unwarranted heritage claims and assumptions and on the basis of these start appropriating beliefs and practices for your own personal benefit, especially when these do not belong to you and are viewed as sacred by those who do own them. The escalation of use and abuse, disrespect, exploitation, and appropriation which is now part of Native American experiences because of Wannabes needs to be addressed. I realize it will be difficult for many reasons, including the fact that many non Native Americans live a totally secular existence, with bandaid fixes to problems, no appreciation of nature or long term serious commitments to the future of the planet. So this fall I will include readings that give Indian voices to the students about Wannabes, and we will discuss, complete with regional examples, plastic medicine people, charlatans, culture vultures, and other on-the-road self-proclaimed teachers who lead spiritual quests,

sweats, vision quests, and pipe ceremonies. The point is not that individuals don't have the rights to know about their roots or address their own spiritual deficits, but that to do so at the expense of Native Americans and what they hold sacred is totally unacceptable.

Closing Thoughts

My basic hope, in general, is that the 1995 students in Anthro 312 leave that course with a better understanding of the diversity of Native Americans, their special rights and statuses, and the complexity of their current problems, which have historical and legal roots. I want them to understand that while past injustices need to be acknowledged and belittled, all that can be done now is to not perpetuate them through neocolonialistic cooptation and appropriation schemes, policies, and behaviors. I want them to appreciate the fact that Indians nationwide are resilient and are moving ahead with self-determination in diverse and very creative ways. I want them to understand how to pursue lifelong learning about Native Americans in ways that are appropriate and to appreciate fully that such work by necessity entails serious commitment, preparation, persistent effort, and the abilities to understand the complexities of writing, heterogeneity of voices even within single communities, diversity of resources, and the need for intelligent critical thinking. And finally, I hope the students finish the course with a new appreciation and respect for elders, understanding of life as process and the interconnectedness of all things, and the importance of spiritual roots and grounding.

To come full circle, these values which have now crumbled in vast portions of the United States, if they ever did exist, are, of course, an integral part of the Navajo Philosophy of Education and SNBH, the Navajo philosophy of life. And yes, they are among the things that I brought home from Tsaile as part of myself and that I will apply, now in new ways, in my own teaching.

Tribal Colleges Come Full Circle

by
Margaret Connell Szasz
University of New Mexico

In the early 1990s a Cree Elder looked back on her childhood with nostalgia, concluding,

It is true, in the old days we used to be looked after properly, and today we are losing absolutely everything that the old people used to teach us before.

The despair that this statement evokes is directly related to the purpose of the tribally controlled colleges today. In one of their most important roles, many tribal colleges provide a stabilizing influence in the retention of culture through language courses and the study of the tribal heritage. Linking their cultural concerns to the community, the colleges also integrate Elders into their faculty, preserve oral history through interviewing projects, collect the written and oral heritage in their expanding archives, and work closely with spiritual leaders and healers.

By accepting these responsibilities the 31 tribally controlled college members of the American Indian Higher Education Consortium (AIHEC), who span the United States-Canadian political boundary, are responding to a need within tribal communities that no other formal institution located within those communities is addressing. The other institutions--the tribal council (or other form of governing body), the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) and the Indian Health Service (IHS)--have different goals and serve different needs. Where tribal colleges exist, therefore, they are crucial to the community they serve.

This brief paper will suggest that the indispensable position of the tribal college, whether an off-reservation school like Haskell Indian Nations University or one in the heart of Indian Country, like Navajo Community College, remains part of a long continuum. The tribal college belongs to the circle encompassing pre-contact and the contemporary Native Americans. To support this hypothesis, the paper will look at the ancient institutional equivalent(s) for the tribal college; it will scan the relationship between American Indian students and colleges between the seventeenth and mid-nineteenth centuries; and it will conclude with an assessment of tribal colleges today.

* * *

Before the onslaught of the "outsiders" who sailed across to Turtle Island from other continents, the tribal college did not exist as an institution, per se. But in those days the native people living between the Rio Grande and the Arctic, like their descendants, had needs that mandated what were perhaps equivalent "institutions". It was always necessary for youth to be educated: in their lives lay the future of the people. For this task, the people drew on instructors from within, relying on the strong circle of kinship. Aunts, uncles, grandparents, cousins and Elders guided the young. Beloved storytellers and esteemed spiritual leaders and healers imparted their wisdom. Still others taught the young their skills as farmers and gatherers, hunters and fishermen, weavers and potters, and the creators of garments, moccasins and dwellings. All of these were educators for the young. Others also contributed to the community as cultural and economic brokers to the outside world. Travelling

the trade routes, by land and water, and exchanging commodities such as corn or copper, mica or dentalium, these members were important to the community. As linguists and diplomats, they connected their people to the regional and continental trade routes that linked the Great Lakes with the Southeast, the southern Rockies with the Pacific, the northern Plains with the Northwest Coast, and the Yukon River with the Bering Sea.

By expanding the imagination, it is possible to merge the role of these educators and brokers of ancient Native America with their contemporary equivalent, the tribal colleges. I shall return to such a possibility in the final section of the paper.

* * *

In that long span between initial contact and the second World War native peoples maintained their ancient institutions. The educators of the young and the brokers continued to contribute to their communities. But the changes brought by the outsiders were often overwhelming, bringing intensive pressure against the native institutions. Simultaneously, Euro-Americans brought their own institutions, including those of higher education. Until the late-nineteenth century, most of the Euro-American post-secondary institutions offering instruction for American Indians were designed within a denominational framework. Euro-American ministers and educators who established colleges and urged Indians to attend frequently relied on the potential presence of Indian scholars to squeeze support from philanthropic organizations such as The New England Company or the Society in Scotland for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge (SSPCK). This pattern of funding held throughout the seventeenth and

eighteenth centuries, occasionally spilling over into the nineteenth century, as well.

In the seventeenth century several examples illustrate how the funding pattern came into being. In the early 1600s the tobacco-raising Virginians managed, largely through their own greed, to destroy their initial schooling plans for Euro-Americans and American Indians, which included an institution to be located at Henrico, upriver from Jamestown. By annexing huge areas of land belonging to the Powhatans, thereby alienating Opechancanough, Powhatan's successor, whose wrath exploded in the rebellion of 1622, the Virginians reaped the harvest of expansion. This event destroyed the school venture even before construction began. Only at the end of the century, in the 1690s, long after their military victories over the native people, did the Virginians obtain funds to create the College of William and Mary, which would enroll both Indians and Euro-Americans. Like the eighteenth-century Dartmouth, William and Mary's Indian students were largely confined to a school within a school, eventually located in the well-endowed Brafferton building, which was supported by funds from England. These Indian students studied reading, writing, and arithmetic and also learned the catechism of the Church of England. Those who survived this extraordinarily foreign environment and returned to their communities discovered they had missed the training to prepare them for maturity in their own culture.

In the interim decades, New Englanders, who relied on funding from the New England Company for their Indian schools, opened the doors of Harvard College in 1636, nursing the hope

that Indians would eventually attend. The Indian College building was not completed for another two decades, but even then it housed English pupils for most of its fifty-year life span. Only five Indians enrolled at Harvard in the seventeenth century, and of these, only one was awarded an A.B. degree, and he died of consumption shortly thereafter. During this era, Harvard was also the home of a printing shop where the first bilingual Bible to be published in North America was printed. Appearing in Massachusett and English, the Indian Bible owed a heavy debt to the skills of Cockenoe, Nesuton and Wowaus, Algonquians whose knowledge was crucial in the translation and printing.

The eighteenth-century colleges that enrolled American Indian students also appealed to philanthropists for funding. Although William and Mary continued to enroll American Indians until the War for Independence, by the 1760s the British philanthropists were enticed into parting with their pounds to support yet another college offering education for American Indians. In this instance the Euro-American pied piper was a shrewd Connecticut minister-educator by the name of Eleazar Wheelock. Elated by the accomplishments of his initial American Indian pupil, Samson Occum, a Mohegan who became a Presbyterian minister-schoolmaster, Wheelock catapulted this success into a school for Indian (and Euro-American) students--Moor's Indian Charity School--and then relied on the record of Moor's School to open a college. In each instance he was supported by British philanthropists. In the 1760s, this canny promoter of Indian education persuaded Occom to sail to Britain (with a Euro-American minister) to raise funds for Wheelock's proposed

Dartmouth College. Relying on his instinct for procuring funds, Wheelock anticipated that Occom's uniqueness as the first Native American minister to visit Britain would achieve unparalleled donations. He was right: the English, but more importantly, the Scots, gave generously, providing over twelve thousand pounds for Wheelock's venture. Shortly thereafter, Occom's enthusiasm for the college turned sour when he learned that the "Indian (college) was converted into an English School," becoming a college for Euro-American students. The blow to the Mohegan was so damaging he never reconciled with his former mentor. Moreover, Dartmouth's failure to provide an education for American Indians in any significant numbers (there were some exceptions, including Ohiyesa/Charles Alexander Eastman (Santee Sioux), who was supported by the SSPCK) was not remedied for two centuries.

In the eighteenth century the College of New Jersey (Princeton), through tangential links with Wheelock and Moor's School, also enrolled a handful of Native American students. All of these were members of the Lenni Lenape band located in the community of Brotherton, New Jersey.

By the nineteenth century, philanthropic funding supporting Indian students in college became more sporadic. Although certain treaties between Indian nations and the United States contained provisions for higher education, the institutions that developed out of these provisions largely excluded Indians (Ottawa University provides the classic case of fraud and misrepresentation) through the nineteenth and most of the twentieth century. As the philanthropic organizations

(denominational groups), in concert with the federal government and under the auspices of the Indian Civilization Fund Act of 1819, focused on opening schools for Indian youth, the interest in college education declined.

At the same time, however, several of the larger Indian nations of the Southeast, and particularly the Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw and Chickasaw, began to develop schools for their youth in conjunction with Christian missionaries. The cooperative ventures included considerable funds from the churches and the Indian nations, with lesser sums committed by the federal government. The devastation wrought by the removal of the eastern tribes to Indian Territory forced a hiatus in these well-established schools. When the newly settled tribes were able to refocus on schooling, they took greater control, crafting an innovative variety of institutions, ranging from local day schools to elite academies and seminaries that emulated the curricula of eastern liberal arts colleges.

Although the tribal schools in Indian Territory developed Euro-American curricula, the students continued to think of themselves as Cherokee, Choctaw or another tribal people (as scholars such as Michael C. Coleman and Devon Mihesuah have pointed out).

Nonetheless, by teaching a body of knowledge that was largely Euro-American, they were preparing their graduates for biculturalism and, in some cases, for enrollment at eastern colleges. Even though these tribal institutions were elementary and secondary institutions, their approach would make an interesting comparison with that of the tribal colleges. In the

Cherokee seminaries, for example, instruction was in English, and teachers taught American and European history. Moreover, many of the graduates, both men and women, became the most influential members of their tribes. Their influence, therefore, was progressive yet intensely nationalistic. Despite their remarkable record, when Indian Territory became part of Oklahoma (instead of the hoped-for State of Sequoyah), all of these schools were closed. Today, one wonders what role they might have played in twentieth-century Native American schooling, and especially in the tribal college movement.

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The 1960s and 1970s were a time of turbulence in Indian education. Community-run schools and parental involvement in BIA and public schools, encouraged by federal legislation, were seemingly at the forefront of change. In retrospect, however, the inception of the tribal colleges may have been more important in that dramatic time than was then recognized. Perhaps this was because of their relatively low profile; few Americans knew of their existence, even with the passage of the Tribally Controlled Community College Assistance Act of 1978, and mainstream institutions of higher education generally viewed the tribal colleges with contempt.

Even from the beginning, however, the earliest institutions to come into being--Navajo Community College, Oglala Lakota College, Sinte Gleska University, DQ University, Turtle Mountain Community College and Standing Rock College--were already establishing a pattern that would hold. While distinct differences separated these young institutions, such as their

physical structure (centralized or branch campuses) or their curricula, they were bound together by the common needs that brought them into existence. These needs may have altered between the early 1970s and the present, but the tribal colleges still serve their communities in a manner distinctly reminiscent of those institutions that were integral to ancient Native America. Tribal colleges may be unique; they may incorporate vast changes; but they remain a part of a long continuum.

Like their ancestral institutions--the multifaceted teachers for the youth and the cultural-economic brokers--contemporary tribal colleges serve several constituencies. They are responsible to their communities, who provide the primary reason for their existence. "What we need is our own college," communities declared, and the college founders interpreted this belief as a mandate that remains intact.

The community commitment, however, emerges on a number of different levels. Institutions like Navajo Community College, Sinte Gleska University, or Oglala Lakota College offer strong programs in language and culture. Elders are integral to these programs; some Elders also serve as resource instructors for schools in surrounding communities. Since tribal Elders have urged that the youth be grounded in their own culture and western knowledge, tribal colleges deem this program as essential. In their commitment to the community, some colleges also provide adult education (English literacy, for example) and training for future teachers who will be in classrooms within tribal lands. Their goal is to increase the number of native instructors who have some understanding of the culture in order to teach tribal

children, many of whom may well be their relatives. Finally, tribal colleges reaffirm their commitment to the community by retaining autonomy from tribal politics. The colleges are responsible to their own individual governing boards, which tie them in a very practical manner to the pulse of the community.

The second constituency the colleges serve is the students. At tribal colleges, faculty-student ratio remains low and student needs are primary. Faculty instruct, advise and assist their students in innumerable ways. Staff members, administrators and teachers at the colleges are uniquely motivated. Despite the fact that salaries are low and facilities modest, responsibilities to the students, the college and the community remain heavy. "No one forgets he or she is there for the students." The students are often from low income families and they are likely to be single parent mothers who live some distance away. (At Turtle Mountain in 1993 seventy-five percent of the students were women.) Yet they, too, are motivated.

Like the staff, the administration and the faculty, the students share the spiritual values that are integral to native cultures and consequently find their way into the colleges. As a member of the faculty at Saskatchewan Indian Federated College has concluded, "What is important is the emphasis placed on the having of values (particularly spiritual values) and the awareness and discussion of them as a normal part of college life." The persistence of Indian spirituality lies at the core of these colleges, offering an intangible dimension to their daily existence.

Like those who attended the elite schools in Indian

Territory, it is likely these tribal college students will become tribal leaders who will serve in the community's institutions or in other outlets in the tribe. Their future is important to the people; the colleges are helping to prepare them for that future.

The final constituency for the tribal colleges is the outside world. Initially, the colleges expected to train considerable numbers of students who would transfer to outside institutions. Although this role has not disappeared, as more tribal colleges become four-year institutions like Sinte Gleska University, Salish-Kootenai College or Haskell Indian Nations University, more students opt to remain or to go away only for graduate school. However, the colleges also are responsible for teaching outside technology and introducing further western knowledge to their students. Moreover, the colleges serve as cultural brokers. While they carry the outside world into their classrooms, they also have begun to carry their world to the outside.

Increasingly, tribal colleges are perceived as repositories of ancient cultures that can provide sustenance for technological societies moving toward the twenty-first century. On a more practical level, the environment that characterizes these colleges contrasts so sharply with that of outside academic institutions that exchanges have begun (i.e., the recent one that we were privileged to share) which may lead to future creativity both within and outside Indian Country. Vine Deloria, Jr., has argued that "Tribal colleges may be the most important movement we have in Indian country today ... they are the only transitional institutions standing between the reservation

population and the larger society."

In responding to their several constituencies--the community, the students, and the outside world--the tribal colleges are completing the circle. They are revitalizing the ancient values of their people through adaptability and imagination. As members of their communities, as educators, and as cultural brokers, they are replicating the patterns of their ancestors. Despite all of their struggles, especially for funding, they have proven that they will endure.

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Diné History Curriculum Development in Accordance
with Traditional Metaphysical Paradigm Model

by
David Begay and Nancy Maryboy
Navajo Community College

I. Nitsahakees--Conscious Awareness

The impetus for this paper came as a result of our June 1995 presentation for and participation in the D'Arcy McNickle Center for the History of the American Indian at the Newberry Library, Indian Voices in the Academy seminar titled "Teaching and Writing Local and Reservation History: The Navajos," held at Navajo Community College, Tsaile, Arizona. Participants in the week long seminar included instructors and professors from tribal colleges, community colleges, and universities. The common thread that brought people together was a professional interest in teaching history, particularly indigenous history and methodology.

Following our presentation we were asked for additional materials and illustrations of our paradigm process. This paper is our response to further clarify and elaborate the holistic and organic processes that provide the foundation and principles for Diné curriculum organization.

The Navajo history curriculum that we will discuss in this paper was designed and developed for Navajo students as well as Navajo Nation teachers. For the Navajo teachers, history was taught with an emphasis on pedagogy and learning styles, based on Navajo epistemological and ontological ways of knowing. The curriculum was designed in accordance with the philosophy and mission of Navajo Community College and piloted through the Title

V teacher education project at selected community campuses reservation-wide.

The paradigm model that will be explained in this paper comes directly from traditional ceremonial teachings, which in turn are rooted in ancient immutable cosmic complexities that provide a continuous, balanced and recursive regenerative order. The lens through which we examine the process of curriculum development is that of a four directional alignment, in particular the cultural teachings that are intrinsically inherent within the Four Sacred Mountains of the Diné.

The natural cosmic order as expressed through the paradigm model provided the process and organization for the entire curriculum. This order provided historical content, rich cultural context, relevant methodology, overall course goals in terms of Diné principles, and continuous on-going evaluation and assessment.

Navajo terminology is of paramount importance to this process. The Navajo terms provide the organization and sequence. There seem to be no English equivalents to these terms; however, we have attempted to provide a general conception of the following four key terms as they are understood and used in relation to the Four Sacred Mountains.

Nitsahakees, related to the east direction, is generally associated with principles of awareness, consciousness, thinking, cognition, strategic analysis, illumination, and enlightenment. In addition to the mental process, it is also associated with the color white, the early dawn, the season of spring, birth and so forth. Nitsahakees, in accordance with ceremonial songs, is

related to the sacred mountain of the east, **Sisnaajini**.

Nahat'a, related to the south direction, is often associated with principles of articulation, planning, organization, methodology, design of a framework and physical construction. In addition to the physical process, it is also associated with the color blue, the midday, the season of summer, the age of adolescence, and so forth. **Nahat'a**, in accordance with ceremonial songs, is related to the sacred mountain of the south, **Tsoodzilth**.

Iina, related to the west direction, is basically associated with principles of living and the application of traditional knowledge to contemporary life so as to provide relevancy and usefulness. In addition to a social process, it is associated with the color yellow, the evening twilight, the season of autumn, the stage of mid-life or maturity, and so forth. **Iina**, in accordance with ceremonial songs, is related to the sacred mountain of the west, **Dook'o'ooslid**.

Siihasin, related to the north direction, is generally associated with principles of self confidence and the assurance that one is following an orderly and transformative process in order to achieve contentment, harmony, empowerment, revitalization, and regeneration. **Siihasin** encompasses cultural and spiritual aspects in association with the color black, the evening darkness, the season of winter, the time of old age, and so forth. **Siihasin**, in accordance with traditional songs, is related to the north mountain, **Dibe Ntsaa**.

The curriculum was designed primarily for Navajo students. Consequently the course organization had to be relevant to the

continuing to the present day. Where the cycles begin and where they end is in accordance with traditional thinking. Through this holistic process the past and present are synchronistically interconnected.

Within this cyclical semester framework there are three mini areas of evaluation that occur between the smaller Iina and Siihasin cycles (DIAGRAM NUMBER THREE). This process of assessment facilitates feedback that in turn provides relevant curriculum adjustments, subsequently leading to achievement of course goals. Evaluation can be in the form of written tests, oral presentations or instructor assessment. This constant check on student progress is in accordance with the inherent checks and balances of the paradigm model. An overall assessment is provided by the instructor after the completion of the final exam or final project. The results of the evaluation and recommended improvements are incorporated into the next teaching cycle to enhance teaching strategies and ensure continuous development of relevant pedagogy.

In order to achieve some degree of contentment and harmony, we felt that the student must come to terms with some of the underlying and fundamental realities of life. In the case of the development of a Navajo history curriculum, the relevant realities include the need to come to terms with the indigenous situation of multigenerational grief, a continuous status of imbalance somewhat similar to the post traumatic stress syndrome common to combat veterans, or in another context, similar to the descendents of survivors of the Nazi Holocaust during World War II.

became the central nexus which provide not only a point of entry for curriculum development but also provide the relationships necessary for organic holistic organization.

The accompanying DIAGRAM NUMBER ONE illustrates some of the most basic interrelationships and associations of the Four Sacred Mountains. These associations come at many levels and consist of processes of relationships and complexities somewhat similar to the western physics Systems Theory. The mandala provided here is at a simplistic level in order to point out the most important associations in relation to curriculum development.

The process model that we have used is in reality an intricate pattern of relationships that are articulated by traditional people in speaking of the Four Sacred Mountains. This is part of Diné traditional knowledge and has always been an integral part of the Diné consciousness. The pattern of relationships provided the framework for the curriculum model and the natural process connected to the mountains provided the multi-level curriculum process.

To facilitate understanding of this process we have provided a three concentric circle drawing (DIAGRAM NUMBER TWO) to visually illustrate the organizational use of the paradigm. The Four Sacred Mountains, here illustrated in the outer circle, provide a clockwise cyclical movement and with it the associations mentioned in the preceding DIAGRAM NUMBER ONE.

The other two concentric circles shown in DIAGRAM NUMBER TWO illustrate a cyclical time frame within the institutional semester as well as a chronological order beginning with what has often been referred to as prehistory or oral history and

(clockwise) movement from east to south, south to west, west to north, and continues into the next cycle, from north to east.

(We have provided a set of explanatory diagrams for the reader, in order to facilitate a visual understanding of the process model. Please refer to the appropriate numbered diagram for increased comprehension.)

In each of the cardinal directions there is an intrinsic process where significant principles and values are associated with each cardinal direction. These principles are intrinsically connected to Navajo ceremony through songs of spiritual origin. It should be mentioned here that each of the directions have their own inherent process. At the same time, however, they are intrinsically interrelated through movements of dynamic order, thereby contributing to the development of a holistic mandala.

Although traditional Navajo epistemology is intrinsically holistic through networks of interconnecting relationships and interpenetrating complexities, Navajo thinking is specifically connected to many geographical sites which provide the framework and organization of the Diné mind. Although this may seem at first glance to be somewhat paradoxical, more fragmentive than holistic, the Navajo mind is thinking simultaneously both subjectively and objectively. This eliminates the subject-object dichotomy since the geographical sites (in this case the Four Sacred Mountains) are an inherent part of the human subject as well as separate. In other words, one is distinct and separate from the mountain and at the same time one is intrinsically related.

For the purpose of this curriculum the Four Sacred Mountains

learning styles and needs of the present generation of students in order to address both the standards of higher education as well as the cultural integrity of the students. In addition, the course was designed to articulate with colleges and universities in accordance with western standards of excellence. Simultaneously and perhaps most importantly, the course was designed to provide a balance between the Navajo interpretation of history and the documented written history of the Euro-American historians.

The ultimate goal within this curriculum process is for the students to become empowered through development of their own self identity and growing awareness of their own history. The collective participatory process provides relevance while simultaneously strengthening the cultural integrity of the student. Empowerment comes from knowing where one fits into the matrix of global and local history in terms of the cultural context and cultural fabric of Diné society. Personal and collective empowerment provides self identity and self esteem. This transformation occurs naturally within the course organization. The curriculum organization has been developed within the academic cultural mission of the Navajo Nation.

II. Nahat'a--Articulation of Methodology and Organization

The conceptionalization and foundation of this paradigm process model comes from ancient ceremonial songs and practices. The process is expressed through the Four Sacred Mountains of the Diné, which provide a four directional alignment and organizational matrix. The model follows a cyclical sunwise

This grief became increasingly apparent to us through years of teaching Navajo students. There is a need to come to terms with the effects of colonization that have affected both students and instructors alike. This colonization, however, has both negative and positive implications which can be brought out during the semester in order to create a balance for the students.

We found that multigenerational grief is an intuitive part of the students' minds. Rarely, however, is a space provided to examine the effects and ramifications of colonization. An examination of the history of ancestral values and strengths enhances the foundation of learning as well as strengthening the spiritual understanding of student heritage and identity.

III. Iina--Application

In this section of the paper we have provided a systematic explication of significant portions of the curriculum along with a brief explanation of the relationship of the course content to the process model. Although it is difficult to condense some of these more complex relationships into a concise paper, we have attempted to assist the reader's understanding by providing diagrams of the curriculum process model (DIAGRAMS FOUR, FIVE, SIX, SEVEN and EIGHT).

In accordance with the paradigm, the curriculum has been organized into four interlocking cyclical processes in conjunction with the teachings and values of the Four Sacred Mountains. Within each of these four cycles are four more directional alignments governed in turn by the same directional

forces as the original four. These processes are all part of an enfolding and implicate order, similar to descriptions of processes coming out of the field of Quantum Physics as described by physicist David Boehm. These processes can continue infinitely, something like an unending fractal matrix, a geometrical pattern of infinite cycles and complexity (DIAGRAM NUMBER FOUR).

Nitsahakee: The East Mountain Cycle

Weeks One through Four (Diagram Number Five)

The first four weeks of the Navajo history curriculum is tied to the teachings and values of the East Mountain, concentrating on the pre-European indigenous world view. The focus is on Diné oral narratives, from the origin of the universe through the Emergence of the Diné, to the time of European contact. Western scientific research on the origin of man and migration theory are introduced, in juxtaposition with the traditional Navajo view, in order to point out similarities and differences.

Contrary to popular belief, most Navajo students have had little or no exposure to their own history. Few schools on the reservation have developed curriculum to teach Navajo history. Most students know more about European history that they know about their own leaders and tribal history. Navajo history is often presented in a vacuum, disconnected from United States and world history. In order to provide a holistic, interdisciplinary curriculum, we have included national and global influences and relationships.

The goal of the first four weeks is to cultivate a conscious awareness of the richness and strength of indigenous thinking. The methodology that we have used is based on small group discussion conducive to participatory learning. This has involved cooperative inquiry and student collaboration utilizing visualization and reconstruction techniques designed to recreate the pre-European indigenous mind.

The underlying guide in this process is inherent in the mountains, which is illustrated in DIAGRAM NUMBER FIVE. The mental process is the focus of this cycle.

Nahat'a: The South Mountain Cycle

Weeks Five through Eight (Diagram Number Six)

The second four weeks of the course is tied to the teachings of the South Mountain, focusing on the impact of European contact in the southwest. This cycle attempts to articulate the increasing conflict between indigenous and Euro-American ideology. The period covered begins with the Entrada of Spanish Conquistadores and Franciscan Friars and continues through the Mexican and American colonizations to the period of the Long Walk and forced incarceration of the Diné at Fort Sumner, New Mexico.

Course content includes a comparative study of Diné and European value systems as well as the impact of European colonization and policies. The goal of this second four week cycle is to facilitate the space for articulation of increased awareness relative to the basic differences between indigenous and Euro-American ideology. The methodology incorporates group discussion based on research of family oral histories.

Participatory methodology allows the students to research their own cultural essence through deep inquiry into oral family and clan histories. This subjective methodology is unique in that it leads to an inside understanding of history as the Navajo would understand it. This becomes an integral component of self identity.

The foundation in this process is inherent in the South Mountain which is illustrated in DIAGRAM NUMBER SIX. The verbalization process provides the organization for comparative cross cultural analysis which is the focus of this cycle.

Iina: The West Mountain Cycle

Weeks Nine through Twelve (Diagram Number Seven)

This cycle, the third four week process, is associated with the teachings of the West Mountain. It focuses on the application of historical analysis to provide relevance to the student's life. The content covers the time period from the return from Fort Sumner in 1868 to World War II. The impact of American institutions and values on post Fort Sumner Navajo life is an integral part of the cycle. Many of the roots of Navajo institutions have their origin in this era, influenced by seldom acknowledged Cartesian/Newtonian ideology and political opportunism.

In addition, students are given the space to examine various negative and postive aspects of colonialism, including contemporary influences. Negative aspects are the ones that create the most controversy, such as forced residential school education or pollution from the coal generated power plants

scattered over the Navajo Nation. Positive aspects include cars, trucks, electricity, refrigerators, televisions, computers and so forth. The students are encouraged to create educational tools with which to deal with the countervailing aspects, as it will be up to their generation to provide the leadership necessary to make positive changes in the future.

The students are given the opportunity to develop a conscious awareness of the importance of ancestral connections as a foundation to contemporary life. Student awareness developed from the previous cycles of the holistic strength of the pre-European Diné way of life begins to provide an empowered transformative learning process.

The methodology of this cycle emphasizes participatory, collaborative and experiential learning. Field trips to the Navajo ancestral homeland of Dinétah and prehistoric and historic sites in Canyon de Chelly enrich and enliven the educational process. Individual research projects based on family oral history resources establish the relevance of ancestral experience and the validity of traditional knowledge. This establishes strong connections between the student and community cultural and spiritual knowledge. It can be a powerful and emotional experience.

The foundation of this process is inherent in the West Mountain, which is illustrated in DIAGRAM NUMBER SEVEN. The relevant application to contemporary life processes provides a central nexus for the course organization.

Siihasin: The North Mountain Cycle

Weeks Thirteen through Sixteen (Diagram Number Eight)

This cycle, the final four week process of the semester, is associated with the teachings and values of the North Mountain. Although we have been discussing the curriculum in terms of sixteen weeks, this can be easily adjusted in terms of semester contact hours and institutional requirements. The important thing is that there are sixteen components in sets of fours. The actual length of each component or process is relative.

This cycle focuses on the transformative aspects of the learning process. This is where the students take their ancient knowledge and come to terms with themselves and the historical and contemporary situations in order to create some degree of balance and harmony. Achieving this balance in turn allows contentment and revitalization in terms of personal as well as group empowerment.

The course content covers the period from World War II to the present, a time of change greatly impacted by the American way of life. Beginning with World War II, many Navajos began to travel nationally as well as internationally, providing increasing exposure to and interaction with countless other nationalities. The course also emphasizes the links between present day institutions and their historical antecedents so as to provide holistic ties of significance for the students.

The methodology generally follows what has been mentioned before. In addition, students are requested to present their final report or project in an oral form to the group so that individual researches are shared in a collective process. The

students' increasing awareness leads to an individual and a group empowerment, each one reinforcing the other.

The basis of this cycle is inherent in the North Mountain, which is illustrated in DIAGRAM NUMBER EIGHT. The transformative process inherent in the paradigm model provides the organization for the development and evaluation of the achievement of self esteem which is the focus of this cycle.

IV. Siihasin--Goal Achievement and Empowerment

DIAGRAM NUMBER NINE

The ultimate goal of the course is for the students to achieve a personal and collective empowerment through a growing awareness of their strength and self identity in terms of Diné history. The synthesis of Diné values and selected western values provides a synergistic organization process for the students' future lives. The approaching completion of the course focuses the attention of the instructors on the achievement of the stated course goals.

The desired future outcome is achievement of contentment and a balanced view of life. This is facilitated by the achievement of four goals, each connected to one of the four main cycles or processes. The first goal is for the students to develop a cognitive process of awareness in relation to prehistoric and historic developments. The second goal is to enable the students to articulate their learning process and begin to organize it into relevant components. This included a comparative analysis of the Diné and Euro-American world views. The third goal is to provide relevant connections to the students' lives through

application of historical analysis to contemporary life. This is facilitated through the transmittal and reinforcement of ancient ancestral strengths through cultural knowledge and culturally proper methods of knowledge transmission. The realization of the fourth goal is the stimulation of a positive transformative process leading to self realization and self renewal.

In addition to the overall course goals, the curriculum includes performance achievement objectives. They will be presented here in order to illustrate the synthesis of Navajo cultural and western academic objectives.

PERFORMANCE ACHIEVEMENT OBJECTIVES

The student should be able to:

1. Compare and contrast, both orally and in writing, anthropological theories of origin and migration with Diné narrative origin stories.
2. Describe, both orally and in writing, the ancient indigenous pre Euro-American way of life, emphasizing values and strengths.
3. Compare and contrast, both orally and in writing, the impact and interrelationships of the Spanish, Mexican and American federal policies on Navajo people.
4. Provide an oral or written critical analysis of history books, movies and videos in terms of omissions and distortions.
5. Compare and contrast, orally or in writing, the value of oral and library resources as reference material.
6. Research and write a ten page term paper using oral narratives as source material in addition to western library resources.
7. Describe, in writing, interrelationships between Navajo history and world civilization/global history.
8. Describe, in writing, interrelationships between the Navajo Nation today and the events of the past in terms of a cyclical approach to history.

9. (This is for teachers and education majors). Describe orally how to apply the experiential and academic learning from this class in the elementary classroom.

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES MEASURED BY TEACHER OBSERVATION

The student should be able to demonstrate:

broadened analytical and research skills.

an increased level of interpersonal skills through collaborative research and participatory interaction in the classroom

an increased awareness of and coming to terms with the multi-generational effects of colonialism through the development of increased awareness and participatory learning.

The last cycle, *Siihasin*, emphasizes the restoration of student contentment and balance. A comfortable mental space has been created from which to analyze the discrepant experiences coming from the forced imposition of colonization. Focusing on the aboriginal strengths of the Diné and subsequent impact of Euro-American colonizers leading to the incarceration at Fort Sumner has given students a perspective from which to apply focused evaluation.

The achievement of the stated course goals has begun to stimulate a positive transformative process leading to self realization and self renewal. A revitalization process begins among many of the students. Personal and collective empowerment comes from knowing one's strength and self identity. This can lead to a regeneration of Navajo ways of knowing which will continue into the next generation. The process is cyclical, continuous and holistic.

In conclusion, we would like to state that we have made certain assumptions dealing with the level of Navajo cultural

knowledge possessed by the readers of this paper, particularly those who have limited knowledge of Navajo culture. At the same time we realize that some of the readers have ample knowledge of Navajo culture and history. We have simplified some of the concepts in order to stay within the requested boundaries of this Occasional Paper. We have endeavored to provide an enrichment of the presentation we made at Navajo Community College, Tsaile, Arizona, June 1995. We hope that we have provided some additional clarification to a complex process.

Many individuals are responsible for the information contained in this paper. We would like to especially thank several of the people who helped provide the traditional foundation of Diné philosophy: Dr. Wilson Aronilth, Jr., Avery Denny, Nevy Jensen, Harry Anthony, and Edward Bahe Harvey. We would like to thank Jennifer Begay for her assistance with the computer diagrams.

The paradigm process model was developed from universal energies and forces. As we have said, it contains complexities within complexities. In this paper we have endeavored to present the model with a degree of simplicity in order to facilitate comprehension. In actuality the model becomes increasingly complex, continuing with infinity the system of interrelationships. DIAGRAM NUMBER FOUR, the Unending Fractal Matrix, begins to hint at the complexity. Not only do the relationships exist on a two dimensional diagrammable plane, they continue into further dimensions. Traditional knowledge is understood and developed through this kind of reasoning. Even today, the structure of the systems remains within the ceremonial

context of the Diné.

The curriculum that we have outlined in this paper was developed in response to significant needs. Navajo history is not systematically or consistently taught throughout the reservation. Diné history is not even mentioned in the schools of the surrounding communities. Only occasionally is a comprehensive course in Navajo history taught at the university level. In addition, there are few textbooks that have been written from the Navajo or indigenous point of view. Almost all documents and resource materials were written by the colonizers, Spanish, Mexican and American. And there are almost no textbooks that have been written by indigenous peoples themselves.

It is our hope that wider exposure to the events and significance of indigenous history will facilitate the writing of history books by native peoples. The Indian Voices in the Academy program of the Newberry Library has provided an important service to indigenous peoples by developing the local tribal history conferences thus contributing to the development of dialogues between tribal philosophers, tribal historians and university academicians.

DIAGRAM NUMBER ONE

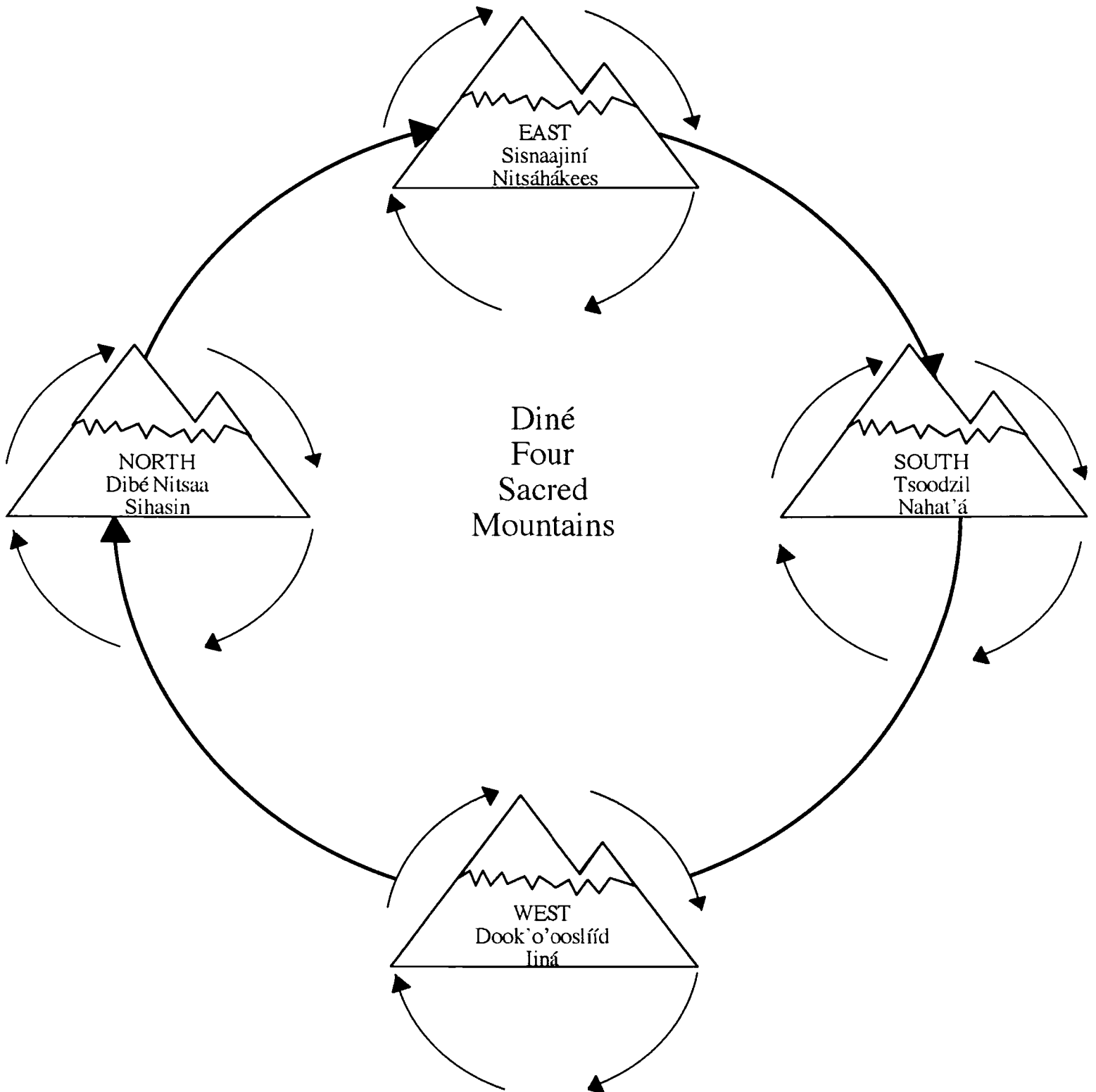


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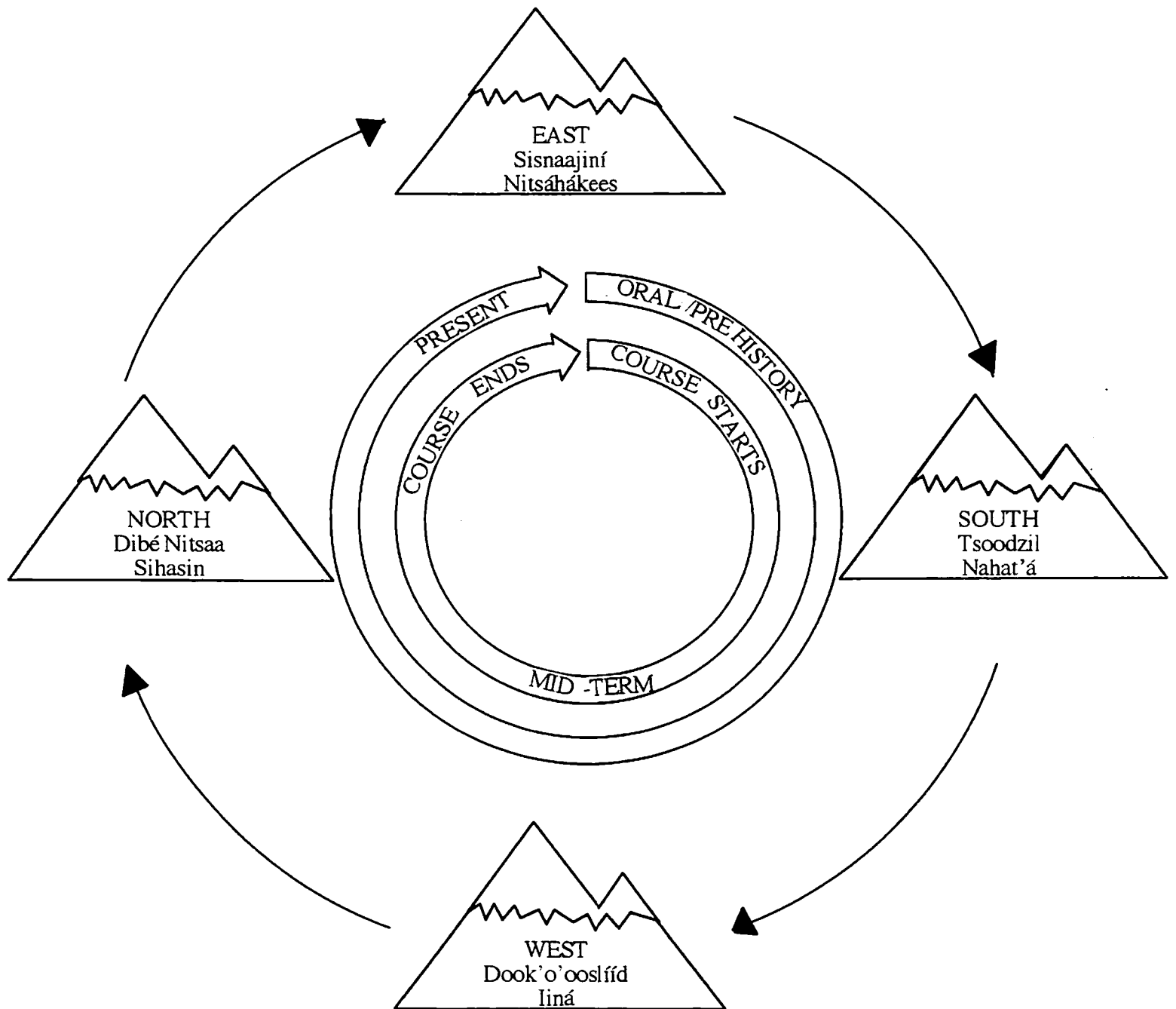


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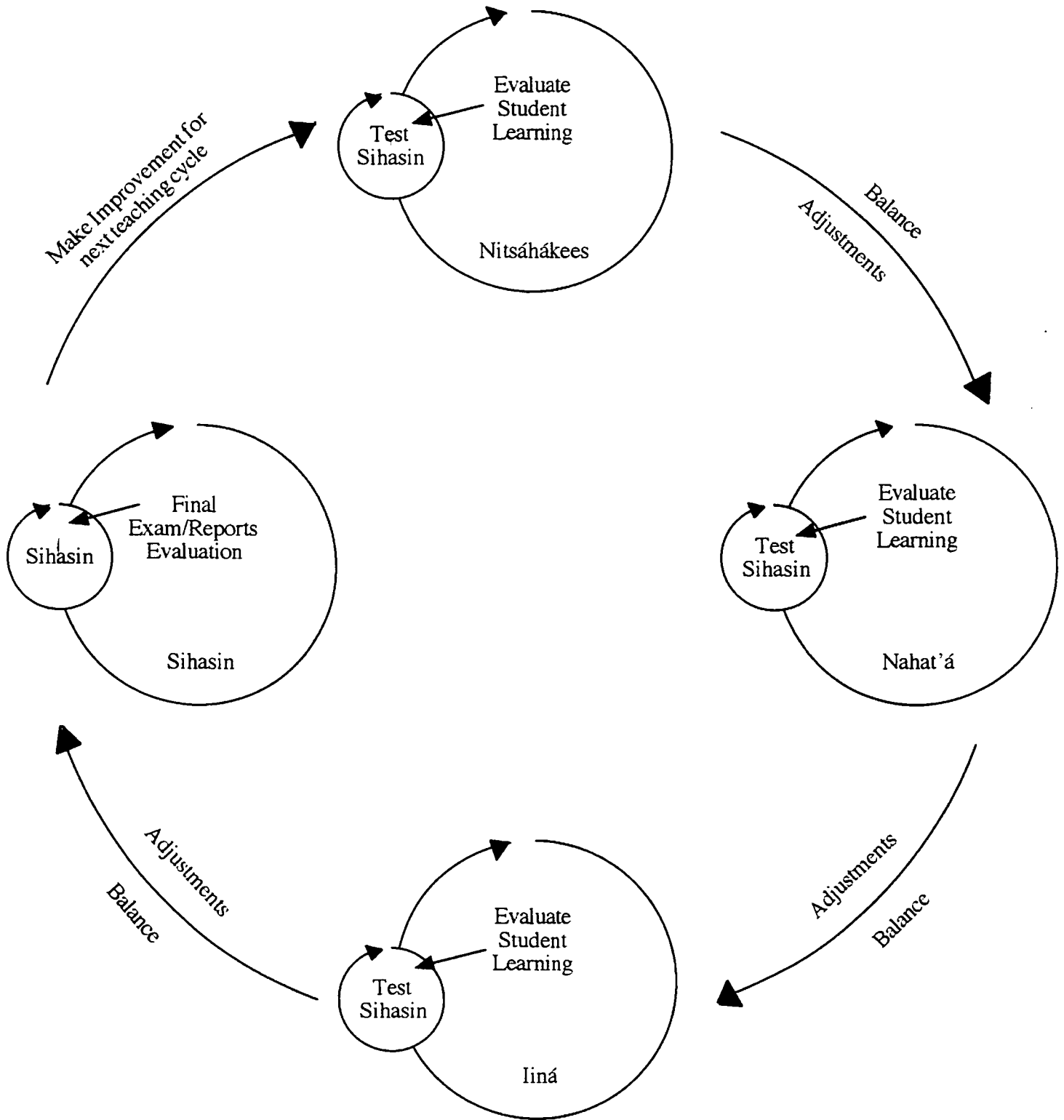


DIAGRAM NUMBER FOUR

Unending Fractal Matrix

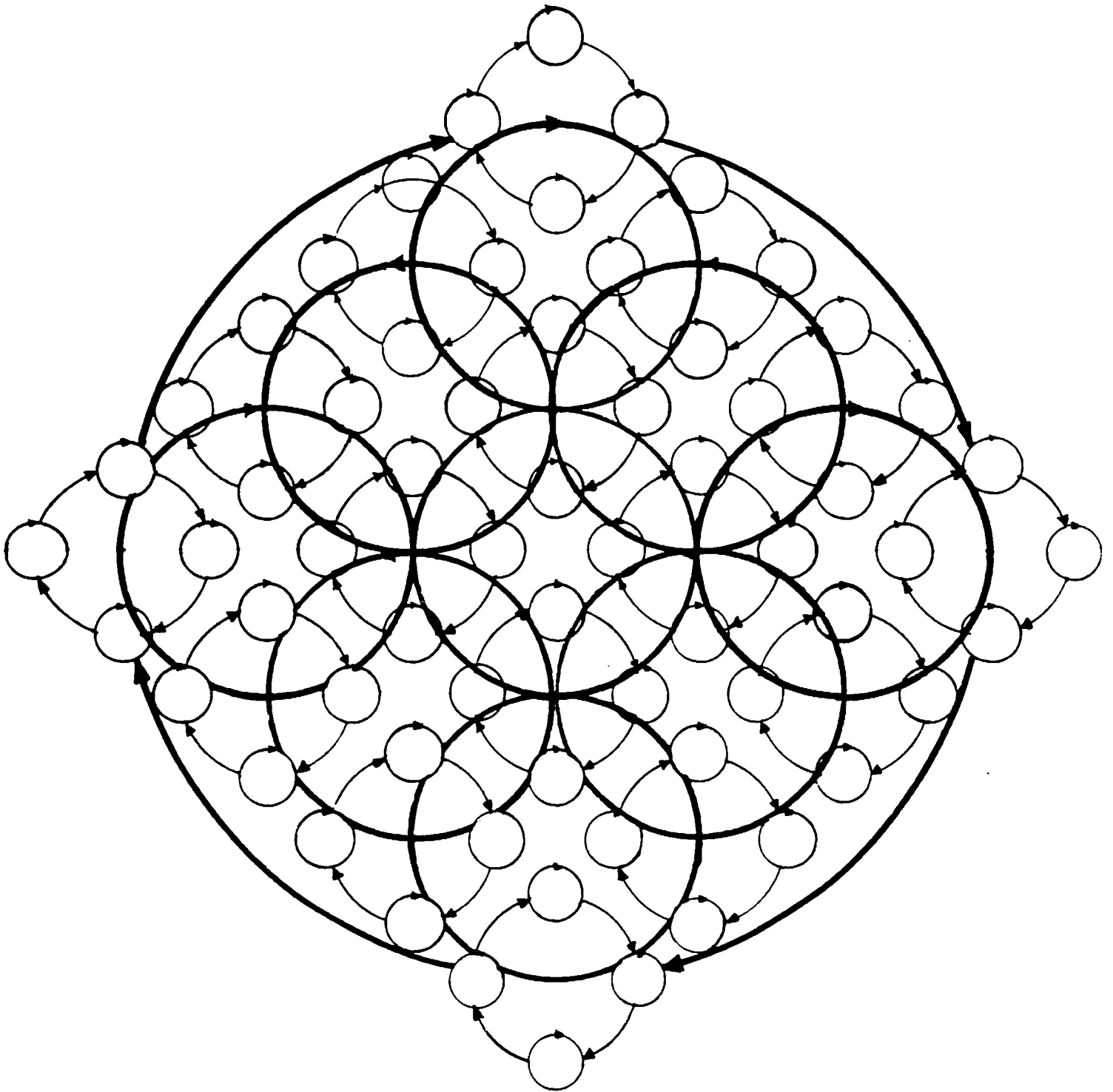


DIAGRAM NUMBER FIVE

Nitsáhákees
East Cycle

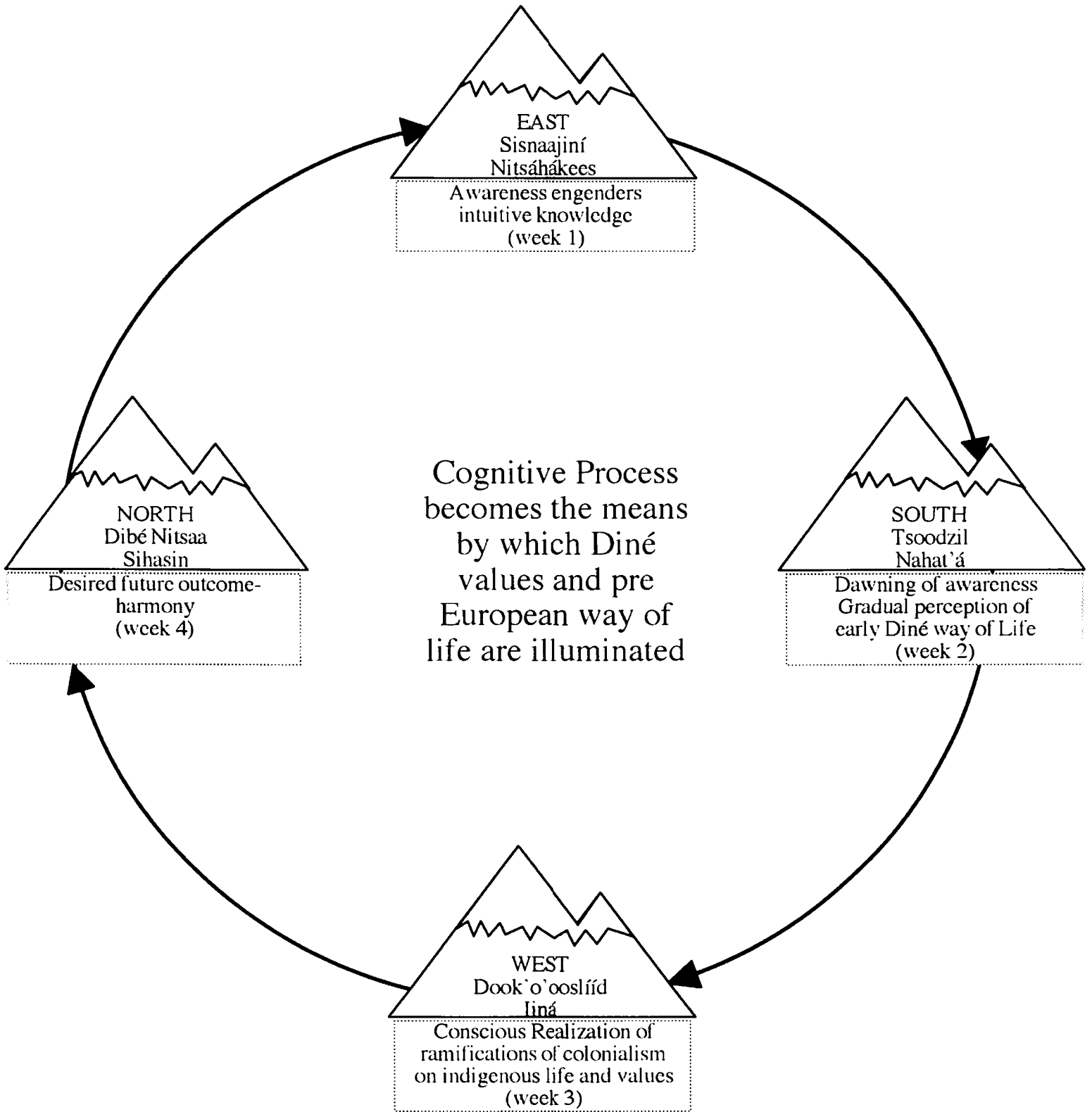
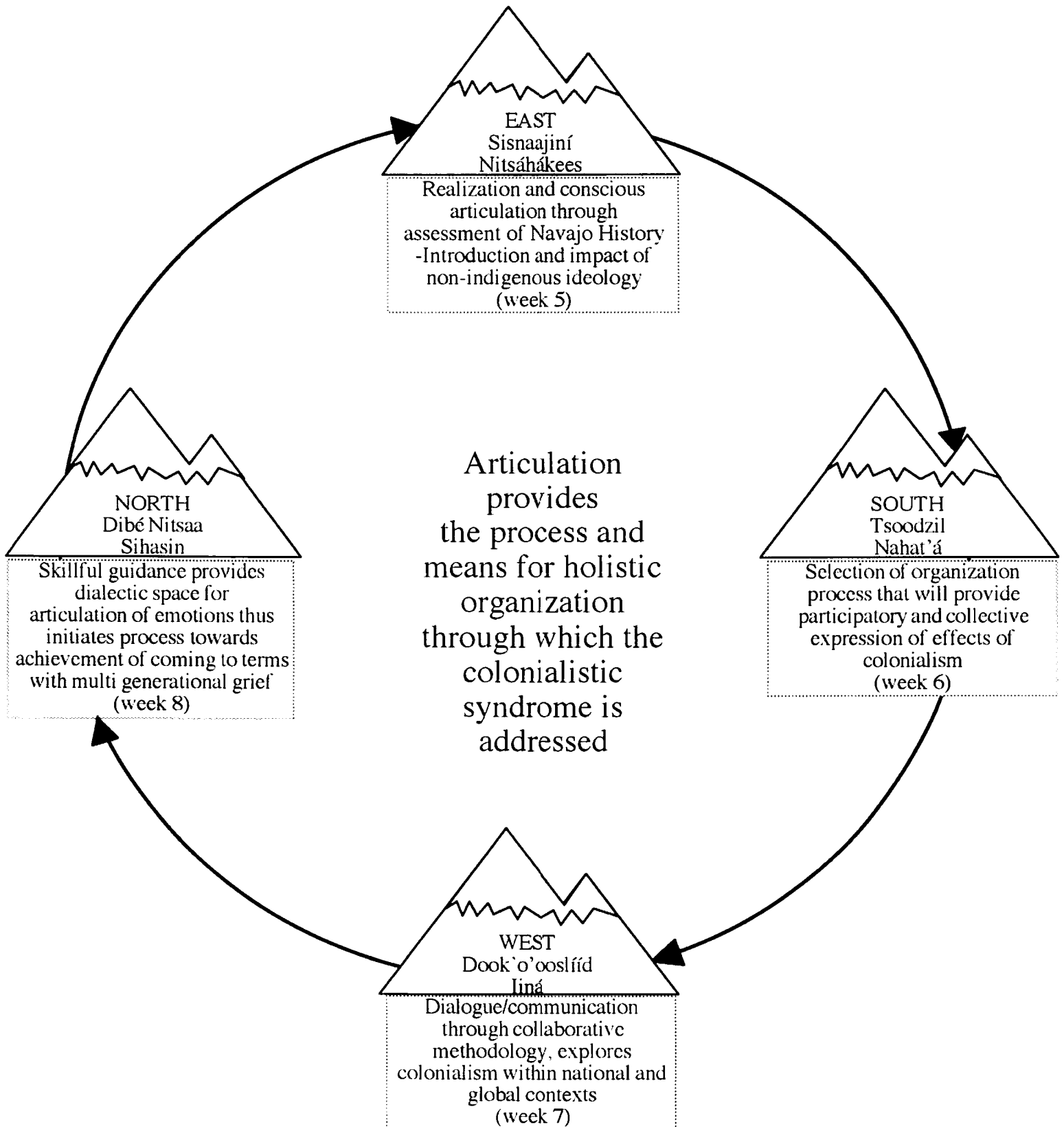


DIAGRAM NUMBER SIX

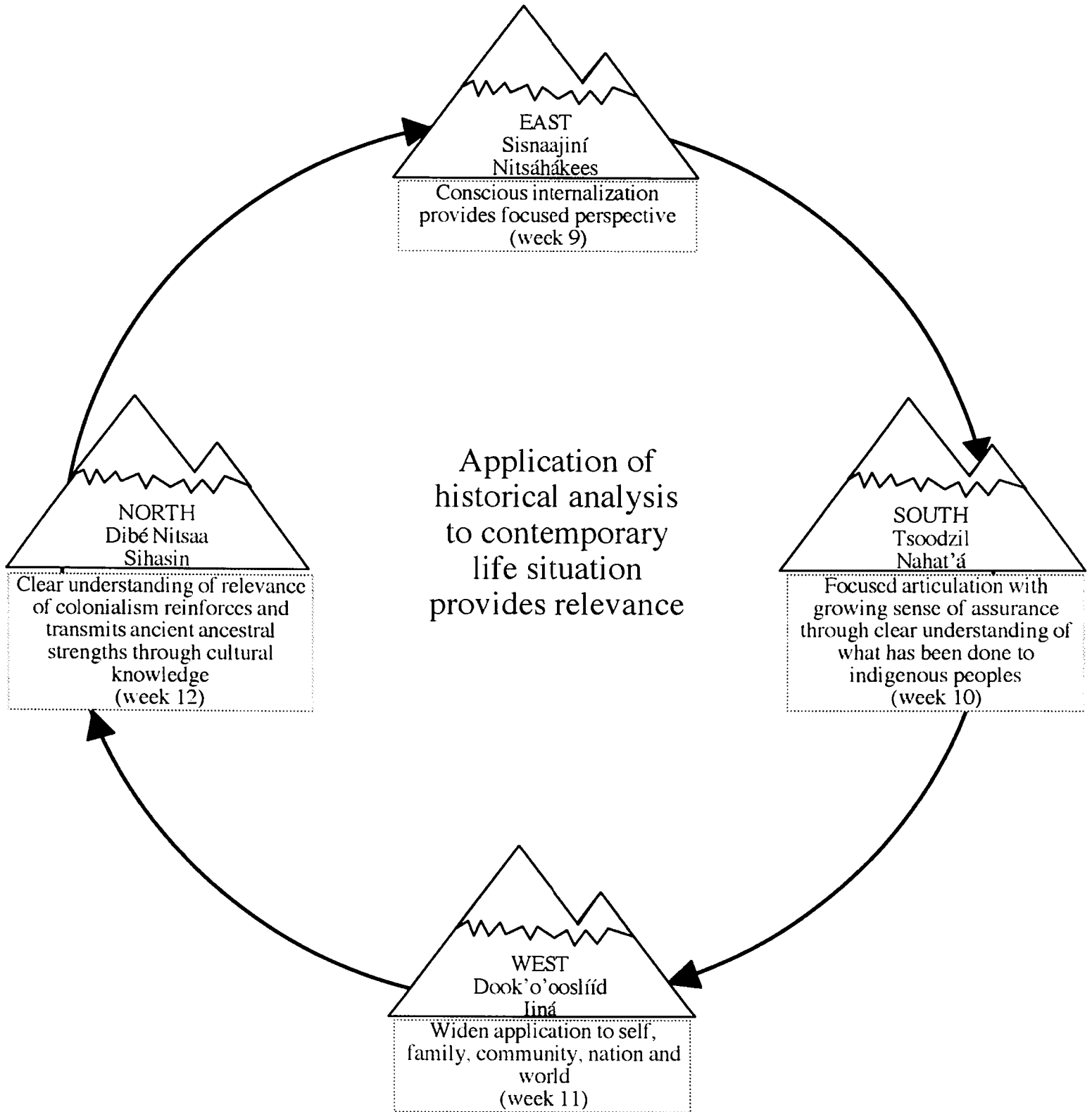
Nahat'á
South Cycle



[Introduction of Euro-American impact]
Articulation of conflict between indigenous and Euro-American ideology]

DIAGRAM NUMBER SEVEN

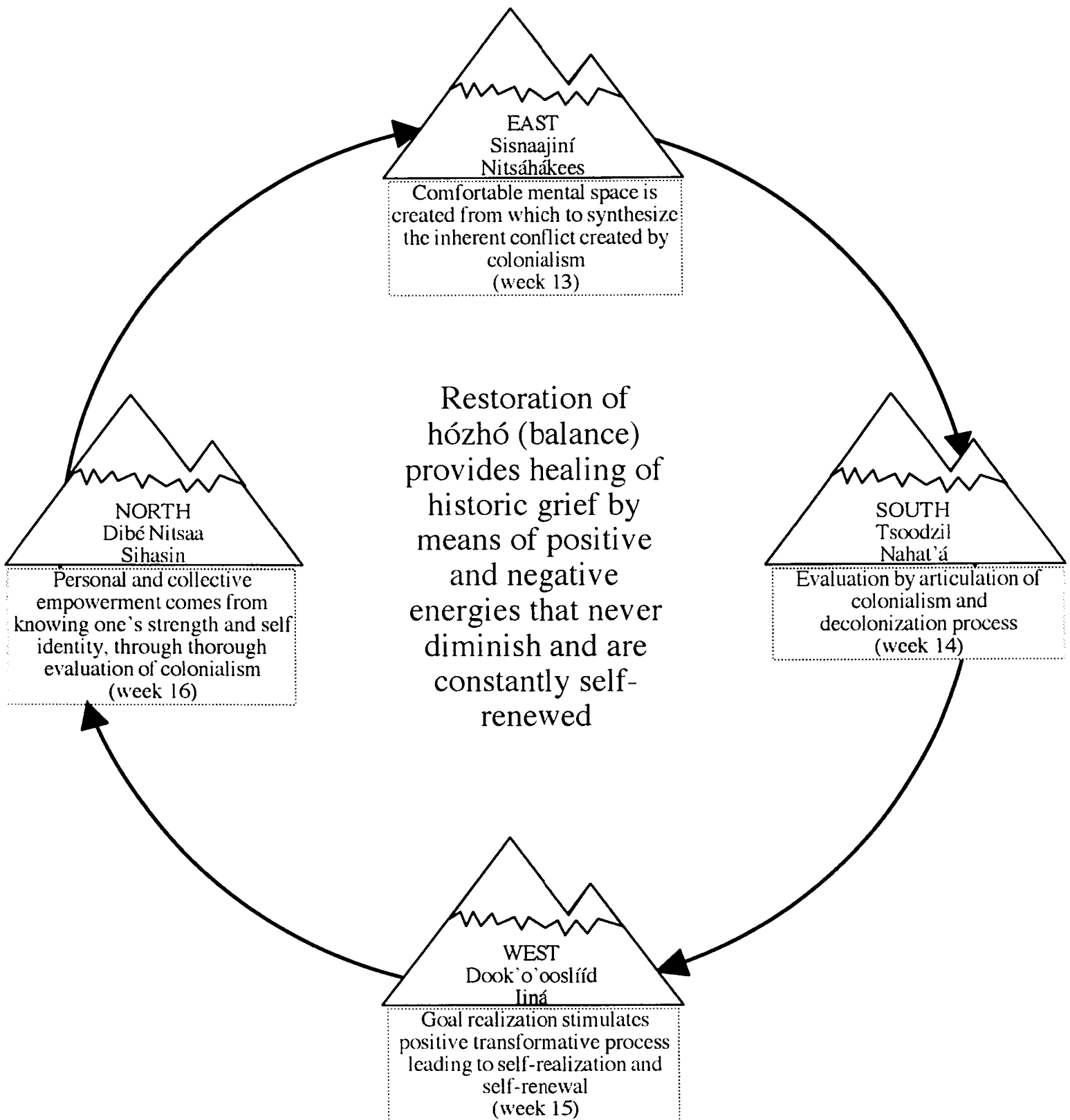
Iiná
West Cycle



[Application of historical analysis to current situation]

DIAGRAM NUMBER EIGHT

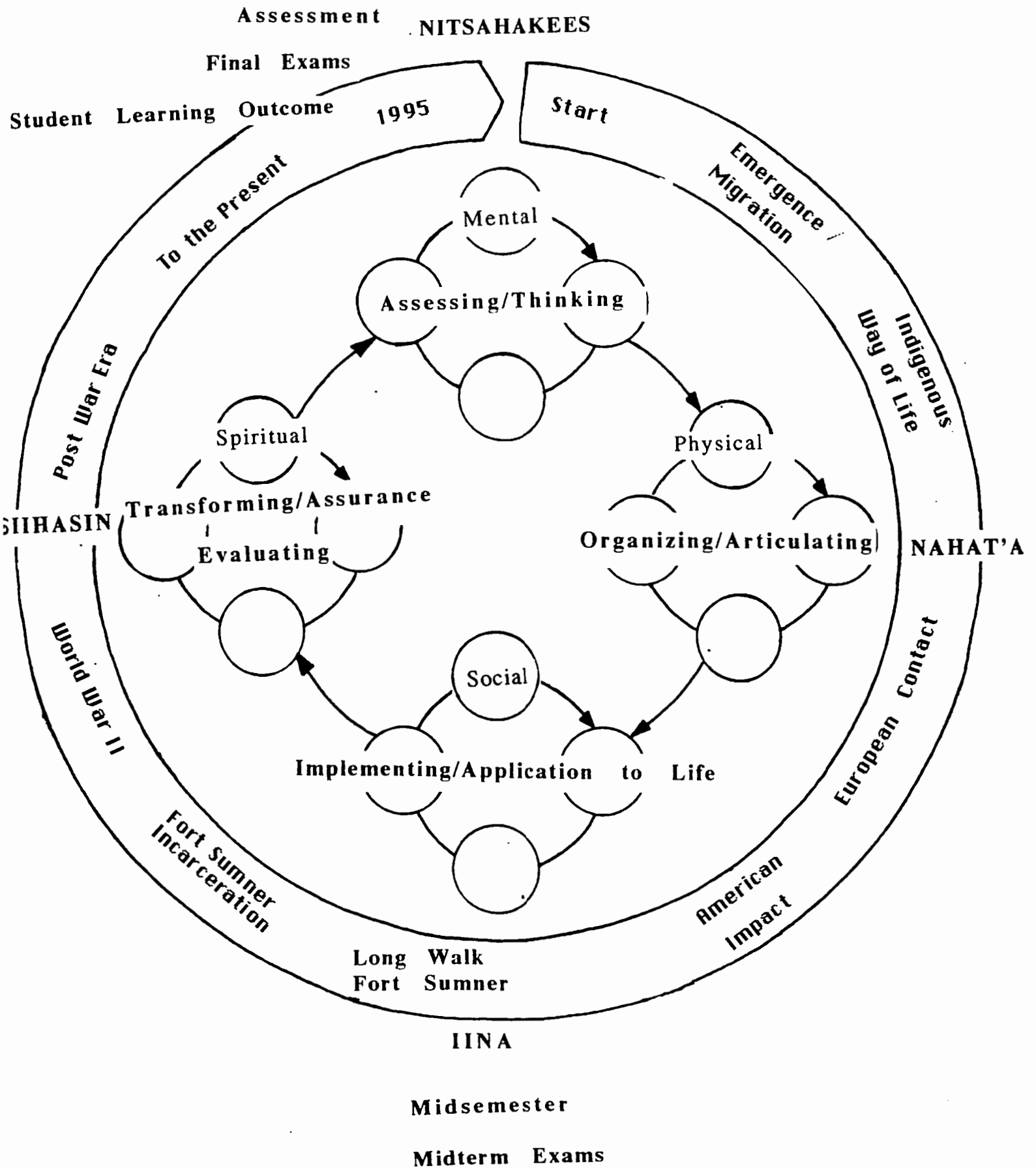
Sihasin
North Cycle



[Conflict resolution - synthesis of indigenous mind with selected contemporary western values, provides synergistic organization process for future]

DIAGRAM NUMBER NINE

PROCESS MODEL



Family Migrations into Canyon del Muerto

by
Della Toadlena
Navajo Community College

I am a Navajo woman of the Naashgali Dine'e clan born for the To'aheedliinii clan. My maternal grandparents are Ma'iideeshgiishnii and my paternal grandparents are Ashiihi clan. However, my roots go further back than just me. It begins somewhere in Mescalero country, for that is what Naashgali Dine'e means. My sisters and I and our children, my brothers, and one surviving uncle belong to this tiny clan that the Navajo generously created for us.

During the time when the Navajos were still raiding the Mexicans and other Indians in what is now New Mexico, a group of young warriors left Black Rock one spring. When they returned several months later, along with mules, cattle, sheep and other goods, they brought with them an Apache woman. Sources say the woman sat astride a horse with her hands tied behind her back, her hair bushy and disarrayed, and she was covered with a thick layer of dust from head to toe. She was dragged kicking and screaming to the foot of the mountain that rose above the camp and was tied to a dead pinon stump. Here, she was untied briefly so she could feed herself. On one occasion, she made her last attempt at escape with a knife she had concealed from an earlier feeding. When the person came to untie her, she flung herself on the poor, unsuspecting individual, waving the knife in the air. However, she was subdued by others who heard the commotion and came running.

I often wonder what she must have felt on that long trip to Navajo land and in her captivity afterward. I also wonder if she left any children behind, for she was of childbearing age. Did she have a husband? What mother, father, sisters, brothers, and other relatives did she leave behind?

Through the rest of that summer, she slowly resigned herself to the impossibility of ever returning to her people and home and began to accept the ways of her captors. With the coming of fall, I understand, she was untied and allowed to go about camp helping the women in various chores of camp life. She was also allowed to come into the hogans of one of the families to sleep at night. Someone would throw a wrap of some kind across the hearth to her to cover herself with on cold fall nights.

There are no documents of dates available to account for these activities, only what my mother's paternal grandmother and her aunt told to us on long winter nights. My mother's mother had died while my mother was a little girl of three or four. We can pretty safely ascertain that the event happened before the long walk period of 1863 and 1864, for raiding activities were prohibited by the United States Government in exchange for the release of the people to return to their homeland after that. We are also unclear on how many generations have passed since then. When my grandmother married one of her captors, we understand a new clan was created for her and all her future offspring. That was something that the Navajo people were/are known for, to be receptive and welcoming of any new people coming into the tribe. Thus, the clan Naashgali Dine'e was created. A Navajo clan, Deeshchii'nii, offered to be related to this new group, and so we

are related to these kind clansmen and all other clans that they call relatives.

The earliest I remember of living in Canyon del Muerto is when I was three years old. Canyon del Muerto is the north branch of Canyon de Chelly, which is located in the center of the Navajo Reservation. It runs in an easterly and westerly direction, beginning at the base of the Chuska Mountains and extending to the arid Chinle Valley. I remember playing outside with the other children in camp at a place called Standing Rock. Shortly, I needed to be with my mother, so I ran inside our hogan to be with her. I have a blurred recollection of women sitting on both sides of the hogan and my mother sitting in the center of the hogan, hanging onto a rope suspended from the roof beams. An old woman sat behind her. I remember so well, a hand reaching out of the crowd of women and jerking me back as I ran to my mother's side. My mother was giving birth to my younger sister, and that was why all the women were there!

Standing Rock was the spring camp of my mother's paternal people. Though her father was remarried, he had allowed a few heads of sheep to remain with his people's herd for her after her mother died. Her paternal grandmother, Little Woman, had pretty much taken her under her wings to raise her, so that was the reason why she was living with these people and moving around with them. To this place in the canyon, this group moved every spring from their winter camp above the southern rim of the Canyon for the sheep to lamb, to sheer the thick winter wool from the sheep, and to plant seeds of corn, watermelon, cantaloupe, squash, and beans in the ground. There was also a large peach

orchard to hoe weeds under and to water. Just behind the large, looming Standing Rock on the north was a small patch of field that my grandfather had passed on to his daughter. Two small peach trees also stood on an incline from the rock where water ran down the tall rock to feed the fruit trees.

After the last seed was put into the ground, mother would take my younger sister and I with her to stay a few days with her sister at a place called Kini or simply, House, just before Twin Trails. This place got its name from the two trails that ran into the canyon directly opposite of one another. My older sister who was nine was left behind to look after the newly plowed field because squirrels scurried down from the rocky scree at the base of the canyon walls, dug up the seeds, and carried them off. If left unattended, we would have nothing to harvest in the fall and nothing to eat in the winter was the rationale. What she had to do was to keep up a noisy commotion to scare the critters away, which was not hard to do when all the children of camp came to join her. As I grew older, I got a chance to help her, but for some reason, my mother did not want me to do that chore all the time. That was fun, though, making all kinds of commotion, pretending to be white tourists. We pretended to talk English, we banged on tin cans, we sang at the top of our lungs, and we laughed and we cried hard when we got hurt.

At Kini lived my aunt and her husband who was my natural father, and their three children. In fact, he was the father of all we three of my mother's girls. They lived on one of the best farming lands in the Canyon that they irrigated before they planted, unlike the dry farming we practiced at Standing Rock.

They also had many cattle that they kept on top of the canyon. Their sheep they kept with his mother's herd at a place called Big Cave further up the canyon. While mom helped her sister spin and card wool, put up a loom to weave a rug, and catch up on news and gossip from the long winter, my cousin Alfred and I explored the small area there. For Navajos, they were considered very wealthy. My father was even a medicine man, practicing the Chirichaua Way that took him away for days at a time. Once we found some large, beautiful white flowers growing against the rock walls, so we picked them and brought home an armful. Our mothers were so beside themselves and upset when they saw what we had done. They screamed at us to take them away and never ever to bother them again. We had brought home datura or jimson weed that only a medicine man who knew its sacred name was supposed to handle. Soon it was time to return to Standing Rock to hoe weeds in the newly sprouted cornfield and to prepare to move to Black Rock, our summer camp. This was about late May.

One of the families in the camp remained behind to look after the fields and orchards while the rest of us drove the sheep up the Many Juniper Berry Trail. Some of the elders led horses laden down with belongings while others walked, either carrying small children or other loads on their backs. Moving was such a happy occasion, anticipating new grass for the sheep and a change of scenery for us. Even the animals were excited: dogs ran to and from yipping; chickens squawked and fluttered their wings trying to escape their cages; horses pricked up their ears; and sheep baaed and milled around, eager to get going. We older children went with the sheep. It was very slow going, with

the sheep stopping to nibble on wild rose bushes or to lick rock lichen on the trail. Once on top all chaos broke loose for by now the yucca were in full bloom. The sheep scattered in search of these succulent flowers that they had not tasted in one year. Eventually, everyone arrived at the summer camp.

About a month later, around the beginning of July, it would get very hot at summer camp. The water holes would dry and the grass would wither under the hot summer sun. Owl-Foot brush would begin to grow wild on the prairie, and when the sheep ate too much of this, they became ill and vomited. Then, my mother would decide it was time to drive the sheep back into the canyon, this time to my stepfather's mother's summer camp at Charcoal Rock. We usually cut our small herd from Small Woman's herd and drove them to the canyon. Charcoal Rock is a place beyond Mummy Cave, near the beginning of Canyon del Muerto. It was usually much cooler here than any other place in the canyon because it is close to the mountain. The stream never dried up and grass was always green and plentiful here. Sometimes, my stepfather went with us; sometimes he was away working on the railroad.

Cloudbursts and flash floods were frequent here, and many times my sisters or brothers and I would be trapped on the other side of the wash with the sheep. This was a wonderful place to spend one's childhood although it was very isolated. A short distance from camp grew a cluster of blueberry bushes where we spent our afternoons eating to our hearts content.

By now the sheep would be nice and fat, and school would be about to begin at the boarding school in Chinle. It would be August and some corn would be ripening along with sweet red

plums. It was time to move out to Kits'iili, a spring camp that also belonged to my stepfather's people. This time we moved with my stepfather's people, for they needed to check on their cornfield. Mom was busy all summer long, weaving rugs to sell to buy school clothes for us. To supplement the income from the rugs, she would also sell fat lambs to people living in the canyon all summer. People just loved the meat because for some reason their sheep did not get as fat as mom's. While we resided at Kits'iili, we made trips on foot to Standing Rock to check on our cornfield. Alas, it never produced very much. I never understood why mom continued to have the field plowed and planted every spring. What the squirrels and rabbits did not devour, the long hot, dusty summer simply withered. Much later in the fall, the peach orchard did yield a little.

During this time, also, we stopped off at mom's sister's at Kini. Here the harvest was plentiful. Large ears of corn grew on every cornstalk; the peach trees were laden with large, white and red peaches; huge, green and yellow melons sat on vines; and the hay field was full of tall, fragrant alfalfa ready for cutting. During the day, Mom helped her sister char ears of corn, prepare and dry kneel-down-bread, and barbecue corn in a hot pit to be used in the winter. In the evenings, we returned to Kits'iili. Once more my cousin and I would go exploring, and sometimes our curiosities got the best of us. Though there were melons galore to be had in his parent's field, we found it very exciting stealing Astiddy's melons. One time we cut small holes in every melon to see which ones were ripe and red. Taking all the red ones, we stashed them in some weeds, and of course, they

all turned bad before we could eat all of them. That was a very foolish act, for we ruined all of Astiddy's melon crop that summer. Poor thing, when he came by to inquire if we knew anything of the incident, we made matters worse by lying and blaming someone else.

On the day that school was to start, we piled into my natural father's wagon, and he drove us out to Chinle. As the big, strong horses trotted, pulling the wagon, my father would sit in the driving seat, whistling a tune. Mom and her sister would talk about what they would buy at the trading post, and we children would chatter endlessly. Along the way, we would stop at Na'iinije'e, a place half way to Chinle. Here was my stepfather's mother's peach orchard. Mom would want to stop here to see how her husband's peaches were doing, especially when he was away working on the railroad.

During one of these trips back to school, I had the occasion to see my father's and stepfather's grandmother, whom I had never seen though I had heard stories about her. Her mother had been captured by Mexicans as a young girl, and when she returned two or three years later, she was pregnant. This grandmother was the product of that pregnancy. To clear up any confusion, my natural father and my stepfather were cousins. Their mothers were sisters, coming from the same mother. On the floor of a hogan built out of stones on a high rise above the orchard, sat an elderly woman with her legs extended in front of her and her hands folded in her lap. This was a white woman I was looking at! I could not believe it! Her long, white hair hanging loose about her shoulders still had red streaks in it, and her skin was

very fair.

After selling her rugs and buying us a set of clothes each, mom deposited us back at the boarding school. Then she, the little ones, and step dad returned home with her sister and her sister's husband. For the rest of the fall, she and my stepfather would continue helping her sister and husband harvest their crops as we had always done before we were sent to boarding school. I remember picking peaches off the trees or picking those that had fallen to the ground and hauling them by the wagon load to a place to be set out to dry. There was a place where the rock wall of the canyon seemed to hang low, forming an overhang, before shooting straight up again. Here we took the peaches, peeled them apart, removed the seeds, and set the halves side by side to dry safe from wind or rain. What other peaches they could salvage at Standing Rock and Na'iinije'e from passersby who often helped themselves to an orchard, mom and step dad hauled them to her sister's drying place and included them there. The corn also had to be husked, dried, and stored in storage pits. There was this large hole in the wall of the canyon where we stored some of the corn. In winter, we made trips into the canyon to retrieve some of it for food. In late September, all the crops would be put up, and it would be time to return to the winter camp above the canyon. Mom and her family returned to their winter camp on the south rim while her sister and her husband went to del Muerto on the north rim.

Today no one lives in the canyon anymore. With the advent of schools and jobs, people have moved permanently above the canyon to the small communities of Del Muerto or Chinle to be

closer to these things. Also, in the 1970s, there was a big scare that the earthen Tsaile Dam situated at the mouth of the canyon in Tsaile was in danger of breaking any day. The few people who continued to make their homes in the canyon in the summer were ordered to move out. Thus, many camps and fields have been abandoned, tamarisks and Russian Oak have over grown the canyon floor, and sand piles high in summer, making it impossible to drive into the canyon. A few orchards continue to be maintained with people walking into the canyon for one day down one of the many trails leading down. Hardly anyone spends the night.

This then is an historical account of our migrations into Canyon del Muerto when I was a little girl. Most of the people I have discussed in this report are gone. Only my stepfather, my brothers and sisters, and I are left. We stopped moving into the canyon after my grandfather and my mother's sister died. Much controversy arose over the small field we used to tend as children behind Standing Rock. My late grandfather's people said it belonged with the Coyote Pass Clan and not the Mescalero. After my aunt's death, my father remarried and it was no longer proper to move there anymore. It became the abode of another woman of an entirely different clan. Mother has been gone now for twenty-five years. My stepfather continues to live at Black Rock where Mescalero woman was brought those many years ago.